

Management of the Socioeconomic Impacts of Immigration in South Africa - a Case Study of the City of Tshwane

by

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*Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
Masters in Public Administration in the faculty of Management Science
at Stellenbosch University*



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December 2019

Declaration

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Abstract

Migration is interwoven in the history of mankind. Indeed ours is a history of migration (Bohning, 1978:11). However the subject has recently been associated with resentment and violence, as citizens push back against the globalisation movement. Whilst immigration in particular, has become a subject of heated debates, the truth is, it is here to stay, given the increase in the “push” and “pull” factors. The world as we know it would be unimaginable without it. The history of South Africa’s development is steeped in immigration, with the country’s economy having been built on the backs of immigrants who worked on its mines following the discovery of gold deposits in Johannesburg (Modi, 2003:1759). Following the advent of democracy in 1994, however, immigration has come to be associated with violence, as citizens, frustrated with government’s failure to deliver the promised bright future, turn on the vulnerable immigrants. South Africa has benefitted immensely from immigrants, who contribute their skills in various areas from teaching to medicine (OECD/ILO, 2018:24). These benefits, however, are not so obvious to people whose lives have not changed for the better since the dawn of democracy. That South Africa has one of the highest number of immigrants in the world is undeniable, with statistics showing that it is one of the 15 countries with the highest number of immigrants in the world (Pison, 2019). The authorities have failed to implement measures to address the concerns of citizens, which range from the impact of immigration on areas such as service delivery, employment, increase in informal settlements, safety and security and social cohesion. The frustration of citizens are often expressed in violent attacks against vulnerable immigrants and looting and destruction of their properties. The City of Tshwane has seen several bouts of these attacks, with the authorities demonstrating ineptitude in addressing them. Lack of a demonstrable sustainable strategy to address the socioeconomic impacts of immigration, is threatening the stability and the economic viability of the country and the city. Implementation of policy measures is also frustrated by lack of reliable data on the number of immigrants in the country. Failure by the authorities to keep accurate data on immigration has also allowed the peddling of misinformation, which in turn feeds misperception, stereotyping and resentment. Government’s kneejerk reaction has led to scapegoating of immigrants and a failure to take advantage of the obvious benefits of immigration. Whilst formulation of immigration policy is a responsibility of national government, local government authorities cannot use this as an excuse to

escape the responsibility of managing the impacts of increased immigration. Evidence shows that the City of Tshwane does not have a sustainable plan to prevent outbreaks of xenophobic violence against immigrants and to foster integration and social cohesion between citizens and immigrants (Landau & Segatti, 2011:86). Measures to manage the impacts of immigration should include changes to the country's immigration policy, documentation and regularisation of illegal immigrants, regulation of businesses of immigrants in the townships and development of a programme to assist with the integration and settlement of immigrants in the townships to improve integration and social cohesion.

Opsomming

Migrasie is verweef in die geskiedenis van die mensdom. Ons geskiedenis is inderdaad 'n geskiedenis van migrasie (Bohning, 1978:11). Die onderwerp word egter onlangs geassosieer met afsku en geweld, waarburgers terugskop teen die globaliseringsbeweging. Alhoewel immigrasie veral die onderwerp van heftige debatte geword het, is die waarheid dat dit hier is om te bly, gegewe die toename in die “druk” en “trek” -faktore. Die wêreld soos ons dit ken, sou daarsonder ondenkbaar wees. Die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika se ontwikkeling is oorstroom met immigrasie, en die ekonomie van die land is gebou op die rug van immigrante wat op die myne gewerk het, ná die ontdekking van goudafsettings in Johannesburg (Modi, 2003:1759). Na die koms van demokrasie in 1994 het immigrasie egter met geweld gepaard gegaan, aangesien burgers, gefrustreerd met die regering se onvermoe om die beloofde toekoms te realiseer, teen die kwesbare immigrante gedraai het. Suid-Afrika het baie baat gevind by immigrante, wat deur hul vaardighede op verskillende gebiede bydra het van onderrig en medisyne (OECD/ILO, 2018:24). Hierdie voordele is egter nie so voor die handliggend vir mense wie se lewens sedert die aanbreek van demokrasie nie ten goede verander het nie. Dat Suid-Afrika een van die grootste aantal immigrante ter wêreld het kan nie ontken word nie, met statistieke wat wys dat dit een van die 15 lande is met die grootste aantal immigrante ter wêreld (Pison, 2019). Die owerhede het nie daarin geslaag om maatreëls in te stel om die kommer van burgers aan te spreek nie, wat wissel van die impak van immigrasie op gebiede soos dienslewering, indiensneming, toename in informele nedersettings, veiligheid en sekuriteit en sosiale samehorigheid. Die frustrasie van die burgers kom dikwels tot uitdrukking in gewelddadige aanvalle op kwesbare immigrante en plundering en vernietiging van hul eiendom. Die stad Tshwane het verskeie gevalle van hierdie aanvalle gehad, terwyl die owerhede onbevoeg was om hulle aan te spreek. Gebrek aan 'n bewysbare volhoubare strategie om die sosio-ekonomiese gevolge van immigrasie aan te spreek, bedreig die stabiliteit en die ekonomiese lewensvatbaarheid van die land en die stad. Die implementering van beleidsmaatreëls word ook gefrustreer deur 'n gebrek aan betroubare data oor die aantal immigrante in die land. Versuim van die owerhede om akkurate data oor immigrasie te bekom, maak dit ook moontlik om verkeerde inligting te versprei, wat op sy beurt wanpersepsie, stereotipering en wrok gevoed het. Die regering se reaktiewe reaksie het daartoe gelei dat immigrante gesien is as die oorsaak van hul situasie is en nie hul

onvermoe om van die ooglopende voordele van immigrasie gebruik te maak nie. Alhoewel die formulering van die immigrasiebeleid die verantwoordelikheid van die nasionale regering is, kan die plaaslike owerhede dit nie as 'n verskoning gebruik om die verantwoordelikheid van die bestuur van die gevolge van verhoogde immigrasie te ontsnap nie. Getuienis toon dat die stad Tshwane nie 'n volhoubare plan het om uitbrake van vreemdelinge haat teen immigrante te voorkom en om integrasie en sosiale samehorigheid tussen burgers en immigrante te bevorder nie (Landau & Segatti, 2011:86). Maatreëls om die gevolge van immigrasie te bestuur, moet veranderings insluit in die land se immigrasiebeleid, dokumentasie en reëlmatigheid van onwettige immigrante, regulering van immigrante in die woonbuurte en die ontwikkeling van 'n program om te help met die integrasie en vestiging van immigrante in die woonbuurte om integrasie en sosiale samehorigheid te bewerkstellig.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor AP Johan Burger, for his guidance throughout my studies. I also want to thank my colleagues at the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation for their support.

I dedicate this work to my wonderful wife, Mapaseka and our beautiful children, Lerato, Khotso, Thapelo and Naledi. I thank them for sacrificing precious family time to allow me to study. I pray that they will draw inspiration from this work and that they find the pursuit of academic excellence and service to the country a worthy and noble course.

Most importantly, I want to thank God, my eternal King for His wondrous blessings in my life.

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Chapter 1 – Orientation to the Study

1.1 Introduction

Immigration has become one of the most topical issues globally, as citizens put pressure on governments to tighten laws and policies regulating it. A report by World Economic Forum shows that there is increasing hostility towards immigrants in some countries and communities (2017:5). There is evidence of hardening of attitudes towards immigration as more people are forced to flee conflicts and economic hardships in their own countries. According to Rother et al. (2016:8), more than 1.7 million refugees reached Europe in 2014 whilst Turkey had to deal with an influx of approximately 3 million refugees as civil war raged in Syria. These developments have resulted in growing insecurity amongst many European nations, resulting in growing anti-immigrants sentiments. Unsubstantiated fears about immigration has resulted in the resurgence of nationalism across many nations (Bieber, 2018: 523). These unfortunate developments are informed, in the main, by governments' inadequacy to respond appropriately to the impacts of immigration and a failure to manage these in a manner that addresses the fears about immigration, however unfounded.

Research has shown that opposition to immigration is based on misperceptions and stereotypes about immigrants (World Economic Forum, 2017:5). Resistance to immigration has also become a proxy for growing nationalism, xenophobia and the resurgence of right wing formations around the world. This further represents a pushback against globalisation and free movement of people and goods around the world. This situation is not conducive to the creation of a world that is more integrated, caring and which embraces diversity. However, the truth is immigration will continue to be a defining feature of the world's major cities, with studies showing that significant percentage of the population of major cities such as Toronto and London is foreign-born (Skeldon, 2017:3).

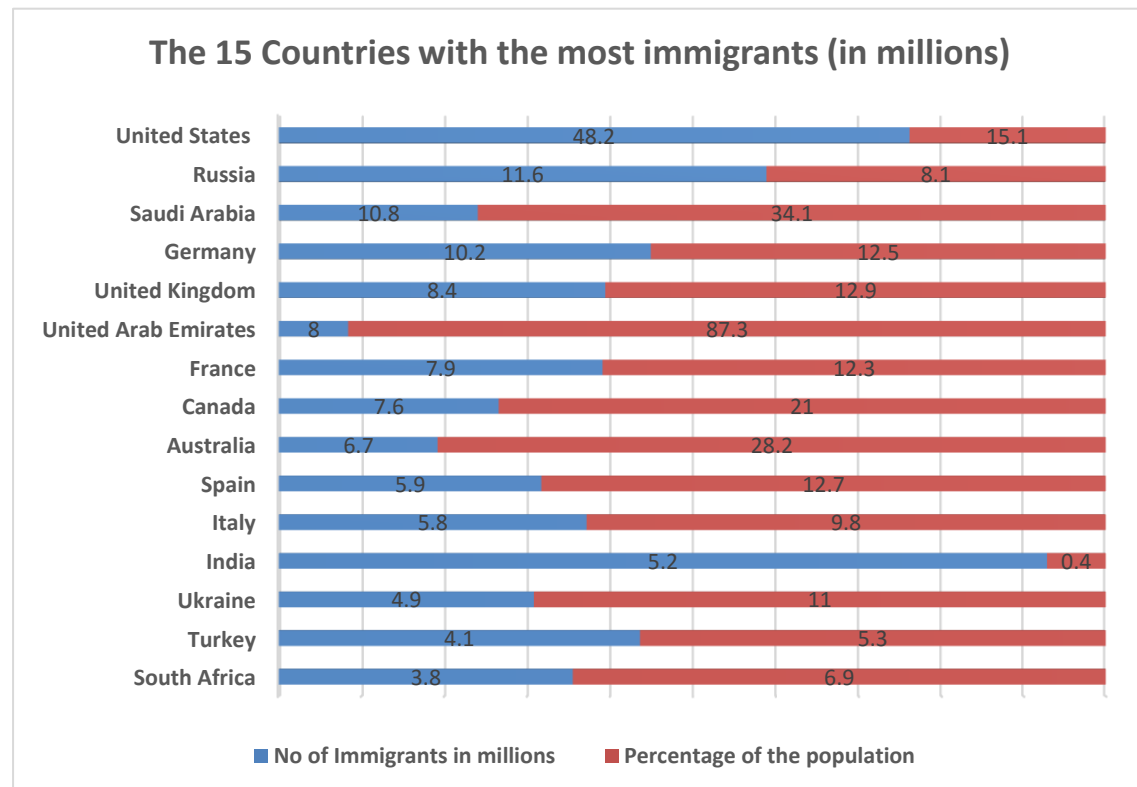
Traditional global migration patterns have been characterised by movement of people from under-developed to developed countries, the so-called South-North movement. There is however, evidence showing that there has been a significant shift with developing countries beginning to see an increase in the number of immigrants and

asylum seekers. Immigration is increasingly being characterised by movement of people between developing countries (South-South movement) (Faccini, Mayda & Mendola, 2013:1). This has seen non-traditional destinations increasingly experiencing an increase in migration flows, (Cross, Gelderblom, Roux, & Mafukidze, 2006:250). These destinations include Australia and South Africa. James, Romine and Zwanzig (1998:171) found that, compared to 1950's and 1960's, immigrants today are more likely to come from developing countries. Economic hardships and conflicts in Africa and the Middle East have resulted in an increase in forced migration. The growing anti-immigration attitudes, particularly in Europe and America, have forced asylum seekers, refugees and migrants from Africa and some conflict areas from the Middle East to look for refuge and greener pastures elsewhere. According to Rather and Shaw (2007:1), some 78 million migrants out of an estimated 191 million from developing countries were residing in other developing countries. The report by the World Economic Forum further indicates that Brazil, India, East Asia and South Africa are emerging as new migration destinations (World Economic Forum, 2017:18). The extent of the impact of migration in developing countries remains poorly understood due to the lack of reliability and incompleteness of data (Rather & Shaw, 2007:1). These hampers the implementation of appropriate responses that would turn immigration into a demographic dividend, instead of a burden, for these countries.

South Africa is regarded as one of the most important destinations in the developing world (Faccini, Mayda & Mendola, 2013:1). This has made immigration a very contentious topic in South Africa, because of the immigration related challenges the country has been experiencing post the 1994 democratic dispensation. Recent spates of clashes between immigrants and citizens suggest that it could be the most pressing issue facing the post-apartheid South Africa. A more contentious issue around immigration, however, has been the number of immigrants in the country. A 2011 census showed that approximately 2.2 million immigrants lived in South Africa (StatsSA, 2011). This represented about 4.2% of the population. The country's statistics agency, however, admitted that this number could be grossly understated, as many immigrants in the country are undocumented and fear of stigmatisation makes respondents reluctant to be truthful about their legal residential status. A more recent report shows that South Africa has the 15th largest immigrant population in the world, with 3,8 million immigrants equating to 6,9% of the total population (Pison, 2019). With no other

African country featuring in the top 15, this makes South Africa a country with the highest number of immigrants on the continent, as shown in Figure 1.1 below.

Figure 1. 1: The 15 countries with the most immigrants (2019)



Source: United Nations data, Cited by Pison (2019)

Immigration is inextricably linked to the history of South Africa. The country's economy was built through the recruitment and exploitation of cheap labour from other Southern African countries. A practice which virtually turned these countries into labour reserves (Tati, 2008:2). The country's strict immigration laws did not offer these labourers a path to citizenship or permanent residency. Indeed, the apartheid government's draconian laws were very effective in ensuring that the miners returned to their home countries at the end of their contracted period on the mines.

Following its first democratic elections and the resultant abolition of the apartheid laws, the country made a deliberate decision to relax its border control policy and adopted a friendlier immigration approach. In its eagerness to break away from the ugly apartheid past, the country adopted a more progressive asylum policy, which allowed refugees to be integrated into communities, albeit without any integration programme, instead of staying in camps (Foreign Policy, 2015). These measures have resulted in a drastic

increase in the number of people entering the country. It is estimated that the country receives the highest number of asylum seekers of any country in the world, peaking in 2009 with 222,300 claims (in comparison, the U.S. received 47,900 the same year), (Foreign Policy, 2015). The collapse of the Zimbabwean economy after 2000 has resulted in a drastic increase in the number of immigrants (Machecka, Lunga & Musarurwa, 2015:254).

Whilst the government's decision to relax its border control and adopt a friendlier immigration policy was applauded as being progressive and in line with laws that seek to promote the principle of human rights for all, its failure to manage the impacts of the subsequent increase in immigration has led to anger amongst a section of the population, for whom the dream of a better life is yet to be realised. South Africa boasts some of the most progressive asylum laws in the world, which entitle asylum seekers and refugees to the same public services as citizens and allow them to live and work anywhere in the country (Foreign Policy, 2015). Lack of government programmes to assist migrants and refugees with settlement and integration has however resulted in a cycle of violence, which continue to tarnish the image of the country in the eyes of the international community.

With many of the immigrants settling in cities, the country's local government authorities find themselves having to deal with the effects of immigration. The intermittent violence against immigrants, particularly in the townships show that local government authorities are failing in their management of the socioeconomic effects associated with increased immigration. This situation is compounded by the fact that the management of immigration is the purview of the national government, providing local government authorities with a convenient excuse to evade the responsibility of addressing the problems that have at times seemed intractable (Palmary, 2002).

Whilst all of the country's major cities have attracted huge numbers of immigrants, the City of Tshwane's proximity to the country's northern neighbours had made it a more attractive immigration destination. This is demonstrated by the numerous expat communities that have sprouted around the city. The city has also experienced bouts of xenophobic violence, betraying the authorities' inability to deal with the impacts of immigration and to take advantage of its positive aspects to the benefit of all its residents.

Immigration in the City of Tshwane is relatively recent when compared to the City of Johannesburg, which has a history of recruiting cheap foreign labour to work on its mines. As the country's capital city and with many foreign missions housed within its metropolitan area, the symbolism of a harmonious coexistence between immigrants and citizens cannot be overemphasised. The city's authorities have, however, failed to grasp this important aspect, with their failure to manage the impacts of immigration resulting in open hostilities between immigrants and citizens. This resistance against immigration has at times resulted in violent attacks on immigrants, with the city's authorities demonstrating ineptitude in addressing the concerns of the citizens and protecting immigrants. Some of the areas impacted by increased immigration include municipal service delivery, employment, informal settlements in and around the city, crime and security, integration and social cohesion, and informal business sector.

This is a desktop study focusing on the management of the impacts of immigration on the country in general and on the City of Tshwane in particular. To this end, it includes a case study focusing specifically on how rapidly increasing immigration has affected the City of Tshwane. It further analyses how the city's authorities are managing these impacts. As part of this, the study also analyses the country's immigration policy and the applicable regulations.

The objective of this chapter is to provide the reader with a general orientation of the study. To this end, it starts with the problem statement in order to explain the problem that it seeks to address. The aim of the research is also explained, together with the research objectives for each chapter. The chapter further explains the research questions and defines concepts that are applied throughout the study. It concludes by explaining the research design and the research methodology used in the study.

1.2 Problem Statement

Immigration has been one of the most constant features of the modern world, with the number of international immigrants being estimated at 244 million in 2015 (Skeldon, 2017:2). With rapid urbanisation gathering pace, most immigrants will settle in cities. Failure to develop strategies to manage the impacts of increase in urban population will result in the proliferation of slums around many cities. Migration is one of the defining issues of the 21st century and the debate should go beyond whether it is desirable or not

Kalitanyi and Visser (2010:15). Its benefits should be fully exploited and its negative effects eliminated or minimised.

South Africa has seen a drastic increase in immigration in the last twenty four years, with statistics showing that the number of foreign-born residents in South Africa doubled between 1996 and 2007 (Facchini, Mayda & Mendola, 2011:8), beginning after the advent of democracy when the country started relaxing its border control. The City of Tshwane is one of the cities that is battling to manage the impacts of increased immigration, as evidenced by persistent violence against immigrants. The city will continue to see growth in the number of immigrants because of a multiplicity of factors and needs to come up with sustainable measures to ensure that immigration is not a burden but an asset that could aid its development and growth. One of the factors that makes the city attractive to immigrants is its proximity to the country's northern neighbours, its large contingency of foreign embassies and its availability of government services, academic and economic opportunities. Tensions between immigrants and citizens that have resulted in xenophobic violence attest to the failure of the city's authorities to manage the effects of immigration and harness its positive aspects to the benefit of all its residents.

There is no doubting the immense contribution of immigrants to South Africa's development (OECD/ILO, 2018: 24). The country's diverse population was born out of continuous inflows of immigrants who came to build its economy, following the discovery of gold and diamonds. The failure by the authorities to respond effectively to immigration-related concerns has however contributed to the growing resentment and xenophobic attitudes that have been continuing unabated in recent years. These concerns are from both immigrants and citizens alike. The challenges are more acute in poor informal areas where it is impossible to convince residents about the benefits of immigration, given the squalor conditions in which they live. The contribution of an immigrant shopkeeper to the city's economic development or an immigrant medical doctor working long hours in a public hospital are not obviously apparent to the average person in the street. This is due to the failure by the authorities to implement programmes that seek to educate the citizens about the important contribution that immigrants are making to the city's development and economic growth, whilst at the same time addressing their concerns.

The past 10 years, which have seen numerous xenophobic attacks on immigrants, attest to the failures on the part of the City of Tshwane to take full advantage of the benefits of immigration whilst minimising its negative impacts. Years since the country re-joined the community of nations, many of the city's residents still espouse views that betray stereotypes about immigrants and naked xenophobia. These prevailing views will continue to be a hindrance to efforts to integrate immigrants into communities and forge social harmony in the city. This will in turn make it difficult for immigrants to contribute meaningfully to the development of their adopted city.

Like all major cities, the City of Tshwane needs to attract foreign direct investment to propel economic growth. However, its failure to develop plans and strategies to manage the effects associated with an increase in immigration is counterproductive to this goal. There is no city that can attract foreign investment without welcoming immigrants. Immigrants have contributed immensely to the development of major cities around the world. Attacks on immigrants and the wanton destruction of their properties and looting of their businesses send a message that foreigners are not welcomed in the city. This is also counterproductive to efforts to attract foreign investment that is crucial to economic growth and job creation.

Continued failure by the authorities to formulate a sustainable strategy that responds appropriately to the impacts associated with immigration is posing a serious threat to the city's stability and development. Foreign investors, frightened by images of xenophobic violence, will also shun the city as an investment destination. Countries will also not encourage their citizens to invest in a country that is not welcoming to foreigners.

This research seeks to highlight the failure of the South African authorities to manage the socioeconomic impacts of increased immigration, with a specific focus on the City of Tshwane. Whilst immigration has affected the city in numerous ways, the research limits its focus on a limited number of areas. These are the municipal service delivery, employment, informal settlements, crime and security concerns, the informal business sector and integration and social cohesion. The research concludes by putting forward a number of recommendations on how the city's local authorities could better manage the impacts of immigration in a way that could make it a catalyst for economic growth and development.

1.3 Research Aim

The academic aim of the research is to highlight the socioeconomic impacts of increased immigration in the City of Tshwane and the resultant measures to manage them, or lack thereof. Whereas immigration impacts cities in different ways, and could be either positive or negative, this study focuses on the areas that are more relevant to the City of Tshwane, which are:

- Municipal service delivery
- Employment
- Integration and social cohesion
- Informal settlements
- Crime and security
- The informal business sector

The study will examine the appropriateness of the city's response or lack thereof to these socio economic impacts. It further highlights the lack of a demonstrable plan and cooperation amongst different government spheres to ensure that immigration works to the betterment of the country and the city.

1.4 Research Objectives

The research has the following objectives:

- To present a broad overview of the conceptual framework on the management of the socioeconomic impacts of immigration.
- A discussion of the South Africa immigration policy.
- A critical analysis of how the City of Tshwane is managing the socioeconomic impacts of immigration.
- To recommend measures that will address the challenges and take advantage of the benefits of a well-managed immigration.

- **Motivation for the study**

My motivation for this study stems from the concern I have about the City of Tshwane's failure to manage the impacts of increasing immigration and the effect this is having on social cohesion in the city. I also wanted to highlight the failure by the city to ensure

that effects of immigration are managed in a manner that would make it a catalyst for economic growth and development.

1.5 Research Questions

The research seeks to address the following questions:

- How has increased immigration impacted the City of Tshwane?
- Is the City of Tshwane responding appropriately to the socioeconomic impacts of immigration in the city?
- What measures could be implemented to ensure that the impacts of immigration are managed in a manner that would make it a catalyst for economic growth and development?

1.6 Research Design and Methodology

• Research Design

According to Babbie and Mouton (2017:74), a research design is a plan or a blueprint of how one intends to conduct the research. This is a non-empirical study, which is qualitative in nature. As a desktop study, it looks at the impact of immigration on the City of Tshwane and the management thereof by the city's authorities, relying on an analysis of secondary data.

• Research Methodology

Research methods are the various procedures, schemes and algorithms used in research (Rajasekar, Philominathan, & Chinnathambi, 2013:5). This is a qualitative research that includes a case study, which seeks to highlight the socioeconomic impacts of increased immigration in the City of Tshwane and their management. It involves an analysis of existing literature on migration in general and the management of its impacts in particular by the City of Tshwane. It includes an analysis of South Africa's immigration policies and legislative frameworks. Some of the country's laws that are analysed are the Immigration Act No.13 of 2002, the Immigration Amendment Act No. 19 of 2004 and the Immigration Regulations of June 2005. In addition to literature on migration,

the research also includes a critical analysis of the country's approach to immigration gleaned from various secondary sources such as books, journals and newspaper articles.

- **Research Instruments**

This study employed a desktop analysis approach, using secondary data that is already in the public domain. As a non-empirical study, it thus did not involve any fieldwork. Data was sourced through searching libraries and the internet.

- **Data**

The study used existing statistical data that is already in the public domain. This data was sourced mainly through electronic media such as the internet, books, journals, articles and magazines.

- **Ethics**

The research was mainly a desktop study and did not involve any fieldwork that included interviews. The author has endeavoured to uphold all ethical principles and standards. This includes, amongst others, adherence to principles of confidentiality and non-utilisation of works or material without authorisation, except where these are already in the public domain. Due care has also been taken to ensure full disclosure of all work and material consulted, in line with the university's rules on plagiarism.

- **Research variables**

The study has the following variables:

- **Dependent variables: The areas of socio-economic impacts of immigration, which are:**

- **Municipal service delivery**

The impact of immigration on service delivery measures the extent to which the city's resources have been impacted by an increase in immigration.

- **Employment**

This refers to the impact of immigration on the employment prospects of South Africans.

➤ Informal settlements

This refers to contribution of immigration to the increase in the number of informal settlement areas that are mushrooming in and around the City of Tshwane.

➤ Integration and social cohesion

This looks at how relations between immigrants and South Africans have been impacted as a result of failure by the authorities to address challenges associated with immigration.

➤ Crime and security

This refers to the extent to which immigration contributes to crime and security challenges.

➤ The informal business sector

This refers to the impact of the entrance of immigrants into the informal business sector.

- **Independent variables: Measures by the City of Tshwane to manage the impacts of immigration**

➤ Measures to manage the impact of immigration on municipal service delivery

These are steps taken by the authorities to address concerns about the impact of immigration on service delivery.

➤ Measures to manage the impact of immigration on employment

These are measures implemented by the authorities to address concerns associated with the employment of immigrants.

➤ Measures to manage the spread of informal settlements

This refers to the steps that are taken by the authorities to ensure smooth and orderly settlement of immigrants in existing communities.

➤ Measures to address crime and security concerns

This refers to steps taken by the authorities to respond to crime and security concerns, which are associated with immigration.

➤ Measures to improve integration and social cohesion

This refers to the development and implementation of programmes that seek to foster inclusivity, diversity and harmonious coexistence between South Africans and immigrants.

➤ Measures to address tensions in the informal business sector

This refers to the measures taken by authorities to address tensions between South African and immigrant business people in the informal business sector.

1.7 Definition of Concepts

The following concepts that are used throughout the study are defined below in order to assist the reader to understand the context within which they are applied.

- **Immigration**

According to Shaw (1975) as cited in Kok (1999:19), migration is the relatively permanent movement of persons over a significant distance. The Cambridge English dictionary defines immigration the act of someone coming to live in a different country.

- **Socio-economic impacts of immigration**

Socio-economic impacts of immigration can be explained as a combination of social and economic factors that arise as a result of immigration. These factors are wide-ranging, differ from country to country, and can be either positive or negative. The

focus of this study is limited to six areas that are relevant to South Africa and the City of Tshwane.

- **Xenophobia**

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) xenophobia can be defined as the attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity.

1.8 An Overview of the Remaining Chapters

- Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework on the Management of the Socioeconomic Impacts of Immigration by Cities

The objective of this chapter is to present a broad overview of the conceptual framework on the management of the socioeconomic impacts of immigration. There is also a discussion of the different theories of immigration and how cities respond to the effects of immigration. Lastly, the chapter concludes by looking at the various areas that are often impacted by immigration and the different theoretical approaches used to understand them.

- Chapter 3: A discussion of the South Africa immigration policy

This chapter seeks to orientate the reader to the legislative framework that governs immigration in South Africa. To this end, it presents a critical analysis of how the South African government has been enacting regulatory reforms to regularise the stay of immigrants such as those from Zimbabwe and Lesotho. The discussion of South Africa's immigration policy is also couched in its history of recruiting immigrants to work on the mines and its regional obligation. There is also a discussion on the impact of poor immigration management on the country's economy.

- Chapter 4: Case study on how the City of Tshwane is managing the socioeconomic impacts of immigration.

This chapter is a case study on how immigration has impacted the City of Tshwane and its responsiveness or lack thereof. The study highlights the failure by the city's authorities to take advantage of the benefits of immigration. The chapter breaks down the effects of immigration into different areas of focus that are more relevant to the City of Tshwane.

- Chapter 5: A presentation of the conclusions and recommendations.

This chapter seeks to bring together the preceding discussions and proposes some steps that could help alleviate the negative effects of immigration to the benefit of all its residents, irrespective of their residential status.

- Chapter 6: Summary

This chapter seeks to present a summary of the whole thesis.

Chapter 2 – Conceptual Framework on the Management of the Socioeconomic Impacts of Immigration by Cities

2.1 Introduction

According to De Haas (2008:3), assessing the impacts of migration without a proper insight into their developmental causes, risks being a fuzzy affair. As in other disciplines, a theoretical framework on the management of the impacts of immigration enriches the discourse on immigration and gives it structure. It further helps one to have an appreciation of the causes of migration and the challenges that are faced by people who are forced by circumstances to flee their homes for foreign lands. However, there is consensus that migration theories are characterised by lack of generalisation as they straddle different disciplines, with some authors such as Kurekova (2011:3) arguing that migration research lacks theoretical advancement. It therefore becomes very difficult to theorise about migration without linking the discourse to a specific discipline. In addition, Castles (2010:2) argues that a general theory of migration is neither possible nor desirable, but that we can make significant progress by re-embedding migration research in a more general understanding of contemporary society.

Nonetheless, De Haas (2008:3) still believes that there is still more room for theorising on migration processes. In addition, various approaches have been distilled over the years as many cities scramble to find appropriate responses to the effects of migration. These approaches have become the benchmark of how cities should manage socioeconomic impacts of immigration. In addition, there are best practices that are couched in sound migration theory that have worked in cities that have had to deal with migration for years. Experiences and lessons from these cities serve as benchmarks for cities where migration is a recent phenomenon.

The objective of this chapter is to highlight how cities are impacted by immigration. It then analyses various normative approaches to the management of immigration by cities. It also highlights some of the approaches adopted by major cities and how these could be replicated in cities experiencing similar challenges. The discussions of the various normative approaches and best practices take place within the six identified

areas that are the subject of this study (i.e. municipal service delivery, employment, informal settlements, crime and security, the informal business sector and integration and social cohesion).

2.2 Immigration and its Socioeconomic Impacts

Immigration has developmental implications for origin and destination countries (Ratha, Mohapatra & Scheja, 2011:1). Whilst it affects cities in different ways, depending on prevailing socioeconomic circumstances, studies show that cities face more or less similar challenges (Gregory, Mansfield & Richardson, 2018:6). That immigration brings about lots of benefits to a city is obvious. This fact however gets shrouded in lots of emotions that characterise the discourse on immigration. However, some areas if not given the necessary attention, create resistance to immigration. These include, amongst others, impact on service delivery, crime and security, informal business sector, integration and social cohesion.

Increasing immigration and management of its effects is a problem primarily faced by cities, as that is where immigrants settle (Lewis & Peri, 2015:2). Studies have shown that population growth in cities is primarily fuelled by immigration, thus making immigration an urban problem (Thomas, 2015). A study by the World Economic Forum shows that population growth in metropolitan areas is often higher than the national average as a result of immigration (World Economic Forum, 2017). Immigration policies are typically national, however the effects of international migration are often more easily identified on local economies (Lewis & Peri, 2014). Whilst it is safe to conclude that the effects are dependent on the prevailing socioeconomic factors in a city, lack of planning can only lead to disastrous consequences.

- **Municipal Service Delivery**

According to Peri (2007), the impact of immigration on the provision of services by local government may be relevant, depending on their utilisation of services and their income and contribution to local taxes. Furthermore, Ratha et al. (2011:11) found that the fiscal impact of immigration depends on the costs and contributions of immigrant population to a country's welfare system. Skilled immigrants are better positioned to get jobs and start businesses, which enable them to pay taxes and pay for municipal,

health and social services. On the other hand, low skilled immigrants are often subjected to exploitative labour practices in low paying jobs, impacting their ability to contribute to a city's finances through rates and taxes. Immigrants with low education also tend to retire early resulting in additional pressure on the welfare system (Hansen, Schultz-Nielsen & Tranaes, 2015:28). An increase in the number of people who are unable to pay for services puts pressure on cities' finances, therefore impacting their ability to deliver services to citizens.

Furthermore, studies from Europe show that attitudinal hostility towards immigrants is driven more by concern for the effects on public finances than on labour market outcomes (Preston, 2014:F569). It could well be that Europe's aging population has concerns about the impact of immigration on their countries' social security services. These concerns are informed by various factors, which differ from city to city.

On the other hand, studies show that population of undocumented immigrants in American cities has slowed, and immigrant education has grown (Rueben & Gault, 2017). This has a positive impact on local finances and taxes, as highly skilled immigrants contribute to the local rates and taxes. Rueben and Gault (2017) also found that the impact of low-skilled immigrants on a city's finances also depends on its revenue-funding model. If a city's finances are more dependent on rates and taxes from residents than other revenue streams such as company taxes, an increase in the number of low skilled immigrants will have an impact on its finances.

According to Preston (2014:F573), "immigrants' tax contributions and welfare benefits depend on the value and the nature of the incomes which they earn and the ways in which they spend. These in turn depend on the nature of immigrants' skills, their demographic characteristics and labour market choices". Many cities in the Western world proactively recruit skilled workers with a view to growing their economies. Cities that are able to attract immigrants that are able to make a contribution to public taxes have seen a positive impact on public finances. This in turn results in less hostility from the city's residents.

Olago (2011:1) found that domestic and international migration has significant effects on local governance, service delivery and economic development. An increase in the number of people moving into a municipality alters the needs of the community as a whole. This increases the demands on public and other services, which affects the

planning and budgetary processes (Olago, 2011:1). This becomes more critical in cities, which were never planned to accommodate a high number of residents. In an environment of fiscal constraints, municipalities struggle to respond appropriately to the increase in demand for services. This can have an adverse impact on a municipality's ability to discharge its mandate of delivering services to its residents. The preceding discussions show that it is very difficult and indeed undesirable and dangerous to generalise about how immigration impacts municipal service delivery (James, Romine & Zwanzig, 1998:186). The approach should be more nuanced, taking into account the dominant education profile of immigrants and the health of a city's finances.

- **Impact on Employment**

According to Todaro and Smith, cited in Kurekova (2011:4), the dominant theory in explaining causes of migration is the neoclassical theory with its underlying assumption that migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial but also psychological. Furthermore, individuals make rational cost-benefit decisions to migrate based on calculated benefits over future periods (Hagen-Zanker, 2008:10). This means that push and pull factors will continue to serve as incentive for people to migrate to improve their lives. People are therefore more inclined to migrate to countries where they feel there are opportunities that would improve their lives, increasing competition in receiving countries.

One of the overriding factors that motivate people to migrate is a search for job opportunities. This can have an impact on the job prospects of citizens in the receiving country, a factor that local government authorities have to be alert to, as they formulate appropriate responses. A study by the Blau and Mackie (2017:19) found that immigration can have an effect on workforce and populations where there is a high concentration of immigrants. Another study by Card (2007:2) found that the immigrant-pull factor leads to more immigrants settling in cities that have historical enclaves of earlier immigrants. This has an effect of increasing local population and labour supply. Card further found that cities with more immigrants have a larger share of lower-skilled workers. With limited outflows to offset the effects of an increase in the number of low-skilled workers, the result is increased unemployment amongst the locals as they struggle to compete with immigrants who have substitute skills. The economic theory

of demand and supply dictates that an oversupply of low-skilled workers reduces the demand for labour and a decline in wages. As desperate immigrants are more willing to accept lowly paid jobs, the result is an increase in the unemployment rate of the country's citizens, who are close substitutes. In cities where unemployment problem is a result of structural economic challenges, labour markets struggle to absorb more job seekers. A rapid increase in a country's labour force that outpaces the rate at which the economy can create employment, leads to an intractable unemployment problem which many countries battle to get out. Dustmann, Fabbri and Preston (2005:F324) argue that it is consistent with economic theory that the growth of a country's labour force resulting from immigration can harm the employment prospects of native workers. If there is a mismatch between the skill composition of immigrants and native workers, this affects the labour composition in the country, resulting in disequilibrium between demand and supply of labour.

On the other hand, studies by Ortega and Peri (2009) have shown that immigration increases the supply of labour, which increases employment, productivity and thus Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Ratha, Mohapatra & Scheja, 2011:6). This statement is however only true if a country's labour market is able to absorb the increase in labour force through the creation of new employment opportunities. Countries like the United States of America (USA), Canada and Australia have benefited immensely due to their strategic approach to immigration that ensures that they only recruit highly skilled and educated immigrants. These countries also have structured programmes that help manage the integration of immigrants into their adopted cities. Papademetriou and Terrazas (2009) posits that immigrants need to be integrated into the labour force, which intensifies competition for existing jobs (Ratha, Mohapatra & Scheja, 2011:6). Without a well thought out integration programme, which also addresses the concerns of citizens, this competition can have an adverse impact on relations between citizens and immigrants.

Whilst much effort has been made to understand the impact of immigration on labour markets and employment, there are multiple, differentiated effects which make it difficult to have definitive answers (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2017). Even though various economic theories have been developed and applied, empirical investigations need to be undertaken, taking into account each country's unique circumstances.

- **Informal Settlements**

Migration, both internal and external, cause rapid urbanisation and proliferation of informal settlements (Murillo, 2017:3). They are also key drivers of settlement patterns in major cities around the world and lack of planning by the authorities can result in chaotic urban development. Whilst immigration has resulted in the revitalisation of cities with declining population numbers in developed countries, lack of government involvement in the settlement of immigrants can result in the proliferation of informal settlements. These in turn lead to numerous challenges for cities such as lack of proper sanitation, crowded conditions and natural and industrial hazards (Forbes, 2019:97).

Planned settlement of immigrants is important for integration and social cohesion. Immigrants in developing countries however face serious challenges due to lack of official government programs that are designed to assist them to settle in their new communities. Whilst legal immigrants can follow proper channels in finding accommodation, illegal immigrants would rather prefer to settle in informal settlements, where authorities would find it difficult to trace them. This has the effect of increasing the number of informal settlements on the periphery of cities. This is in contrast to the situation in developed countries, with studies highlighting the positive impact of immigration on the (United States of America) US housing market (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2017: 295).

Another issue that warrants the attention of authorities is the negative effects of unguided settlement of immigrants. Pushing immigrants more into the informal settlements has the effect of pushing them more into the informal business sector, which is more prone to crime and prevents them from making a meaningful contribution to society (Morare, 2017:4). Lack of involvement by the authorities in the settlement of immigrants further has an effect of creating a situation that pits locals against immigrants as the struggle for limited resources intensifies. It can also be argued that this amounts to dereliction of duty by the authorities. Most informal settlements in and around cities are slums which are inaccessible to authorities. These then become attractive for illegal immigrants who want to hide from the authorities.

A report by the UN-Habitat shows that slums are the first stopping point for immigrants (UN-Habitat, 2003). This situation can only be positive if it affords immigrants an opportunity to save for their eventual absorption into urban society.

- **Crime and Security Concerns**

One of the questions that researchers and policy makers are grappling with, is whether there is a causal link between increase in immigration and crime. However, despite increased attention to this association, gaps remain in literature (Light and Miller, 2018:2). Findings differ from country to country, depending on the prevailing socioeconomic conditions. For instance, Gunadi (2019) found that undocumented immigrants in the United States of America (USA) are 33% less likely to be imprisoned compared to US natives. This, however, also depends on the age of the immigrants, with the study showing that immigrants who arrive at a younger age are associated with higher imprisonment rate (Gunadi, 2019). Light and Miller (2018:2), however posits that weakness in immigration-crime research is hampered by the paucity of data on undocumented immigration.

On the other hand, Akinyemi (2013:6) posits that failure by the authorities to document illegal immigrants presents an opportunity for cross-border criminal syndicates as they cannot be easily traced). The types of crime range from human trafficking and smuggling of vehicles. Regional protocols that allow free movement of people who possess valid documents have led to serious security challenges in countries such as Nigeria, which has been dealing with cross-border insurgency, smuggling of illegal weapons and contrabands (Akinyemi, 2013:5). Even though concerns about criminal syndicates taking advantage of measures to allow for free movement of people and goods between countries abound, the notion of a “criminal immigrant” has been dispelled (Matthew, Martinez & Rosenfeld, 2001). There is even some evidence that shows that immigration can lead to a reduction of crime in cities. However, this is dependent of a number of factors. Chief amongst these is the strong familial institutions that immigrants bring to cities, as well as the existence of enclave economies, which allows for some level of self-reliance (Lee & Martinez, 2009:5). There is therefore less incentive for the commission of crime. These findings also seem to fly in the face of earlier theories of opportunity structure, cultural approaches and social disorganisation,

which suggested that people who lack legitimate opportunity for wealth and status innovate by turning to crime (Lee & Martinez, 2009:4).

Whilst concerns about the link between international migration and transnational organised crime abound, migrants are more likely to be victims of crime than perpetrators, such as human trafficking, slavery and prostitution (Koslowski, 2012:2). Criminalisation of illegal immigrants by the authorities makes it difficult to detect and root out these crimes due to low reporting by migrants who fear arrest and deportation.

Another important aspect to consider is the link between poorly managed immigration and terrorism. Terrorists take advantage of porous borders to cross into countries and can hide within enclave immigrant communities. The failure by authorities to implement integration programs can result in social alienation, which may be reasons for some immigrants to join terrorist organisations (Koslowski, 2012:2). In addition, continued failure by the authorities to address the plight of immigrants can serve as an added incentive to align themselves with terrorist groups.

It can thus be concluded that even though classical criminological and neoclassical economic theories predict immigration to increase crime, most empirical research shows quite the opposite. In addition, these findings show that how immigration impacts a city's crime statistics depends on the prevailing socio-economic conditions. Many cities that have embraced the diversity that is brought about by immigrants and allowed the creation of enclave economies and networks have been positively impacted. Conditions that allow the spirit of entrepreneurship that immigrants are known for enable them to create a livelihood that disincentivise them from getting involved in criminal activities. Furthermore, illegal immigrants would be less inclined to get involved in criminal activities in a city where there is an existence of an effective law enforcement culture, out of fear of being arrested and deported.

- **The Informal Business Sector**

The participation of migrants in the informal business sector is often viewed with suspicion (Crush, 2015:1). This is despite the fact that they play an important role in growing the economy through taxes and employment creation. Studies show that immigration has a positive impact on destination countries (OECD/ILO, 2018:145). It is generally accepted that most immigrants are very entrepreneurial and play a crucial

role in economies of their adopted cities. In some cities, immigrants create enclave economies through strong networks, allowing them to contribute meaningfully to the development of their adopted cities.

The persistent economic challenges are forcing many people into informal business sector as unemployment increases. With many people going into business for survival, the sector is characterised by fierce competition and exclusionary practices, where vulnerable immigrants are increasingly facing resistance and resentment. According to van Setten, Scheepers and Lubbers (2017:441), especially vulnerable economic groups hold restrictive views towards immigrants. Lack of programs by cities to address concerns of vulnerable groups only helps to breed animosity against immigrants.

In recognition of the impact of the entrance of immigrants into the informal business sector, some countries have enacted legislations that designate certain areas of the sector for native citizens only. Ghana, for instance, enacted the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) Act of 1994 (Act 478) and revision in 2013 (Act 865) which seeks to reserve certain types of activities and enterprises for Ghanaian citizens, including sales of goods in markets or open stalls (OECD/ILO, 2018: 145). Research however shows that this does not always have the desired effect, with fronting and collusion to circumvent the laws, rife between locals and immigrants (OECD/ILO, 2018: 145).

- **Integration and Social Cohesion**

According to Saggar, Somerville, Ford and Sobolewska (2012:11), immigration results in specific challenges to reducing particular differences between newcomers and citizens. According to Crush (2000), lack of solid integration policies between immigrants and locals leads to destabilisation (Chiloane-Tsoka & Mmako, 2014: 378). Cities that have embraced immigration have institutionalised immigrant integration programmes that have enabled them to forge a new common identity that is not based on ethno-cultural or ancestral heritage. Poor policy response to the effects of immigration by local government authorities manifests more prominently in lack of social cohesion in recipient communities. According to Olago (2011:1), municipalities' failure to respond to migration ultimately reduces the possibility of poverty alleviation and results in lack of integration and social cohesion. Furthermore, inaction and poor policy response from local government authorities inadvertently reinforce

misperceptions about immigrants, thus hindering efforts to foster integration and social cohesion. One of the areas that have been sorely neglected by cities is implementation of programmes to educate residents about the plight of immigrants and the critical role they play in the development of cities and countries.

Cities are faced with the challenge of addressing the immediate needs of immigrants and responding to some of the challenges of integration (World Economic Forum, 2017:10). The challenge is striking a balance between addressing the plight of immigrants whilst at the same time addressing the concerns of citizens about the impact of immigration. Too often, immigrants are made scapegoats for the failures of local government authorities. Failure by the authorities to address socioeconomic impacts of immigration has an adverse impact on relations between immigrants and citizens, thwarting efforts to foster integration and social cohesion. As South-South migration continues to outpace South-North migration, most receiving South countries are facing integration and social cohesion challenges (Khoudour-Castéras, 2011). Integration challenges faced by these cities are more acute than those in the Western world because of lack of resources and economic opportunities.

A study by Saggar et al. (2012:2) found that whilst immigration does have an impact on integration and social cohesion, new immigration does not notably add to the problem. The study further found that pre-existing socio-economic deprivation plays a critical role in people's perceptions about their neighbourhoods and that high levels of poverty are predictors of lower integration and social cohesion. This is supported by findings that show that xenophobic attacks are more prevalent in poor areas where there are lack of opportunities (Tevera, 2013:17). Increased competition for limited resources in these areas often results in local citizens blaming immigrants for their poor socioeconomic situation.

2.3 Managing the Socioeconomic Impacts of Immigration

Cities respond to impacts of immigration in different ways, depending on the level of development and other prevailing circumstances. It is therefore important that measures designed to address the effects of immigration be informed by the prevailing socioeconomic circumstances a city. The inevitability of immigration means that cities should avoid measures that are meant to discourage or curb it, but should rather

concentrate on minimising its negative effects whilst optimising its benefits. In their analysis, Charles, Guna and Galal (2018) lament the shift towards immigration controls, away from the actual challenges impacting destination countries, especially cities, where migrants live.

The first element in the management of the socioeconomic impacts of immigration is the collection and maintenance of reliable data on immigrants. However a common problem that characterises debate on immigration is the lack of data at city level, with most data being at country level (Benton-Short, Price & Friedman, 2005). Cities should collate and maintain data that enables them to understand the demographics of migration within their jurisdiction. This should include factors such as the profile of migrants in terms of their countries of origin, reasons that compelled them to migrate, their skills levels etc. Having this information will assist in the formulation of a more appropriate responses.

It is almost impossible for cities to respond appropriately to the effects of immigrants without the availability of credible and reliable data. Lack of reliable statistics on immigrants can lead to dangerous generalisation, which in turn can result in stereotyping of certain sections of the immigrant population. Lack of reliable data further makes it difficult for cities to justify requests for further resources to address the effects of immigration. This situation is not new, with Levine, Hill and Warren (1985:2) regarding immigration statistics as a “story of neglect”. They characterise this situation as an anomaly given the fact that immigration affects the lives of many people(Levine, Hill and Warren, 1985:2).

A study by Azose and Raftery (2019:1) shows that despite the importance of international migration, estimates of international migration flows are still too imprecise and that reliable record keeping of migration flows is only available in developed countries. It was further found that the best existing methods to produce global migration flow estimates are burdened by strong assumptions. Non-availability of reliable data means that cities in developing countries do not have authoritative knowledge or understanding of the fiscal impact of immigration. This means that in addition to the failure to manage the impacts of immigration, cities cannot take advantage of the benefits that accrue from immigration.

It is impossible for authorities to maintain any data on immigrants if they are not documented. Documentation of immigrants should be one of the top priorities of local authorities in the management of the impacts of immigration. This provides authorities with accurate and reliable data on the demographics of immigrants, which in turn helps with planning and allocation of resources. This further helps shed light on the plight of immigrants, thus enabling the authorities to better address their needs. Immigrants play a more meaningful role in cities where they get a sense that authorities care about their plight and the initiatives to regularise their stay in a city gives them a sense of belonging.

An understanding of the profile of immigrants helps local authorities with the following, amongst others:

- Skills profile of immigrants
- Social needs of immigrants and how they could be addressed
- Potential social problems that could lead to involvement in criminal activities.
- Integration challenges and tensions between immigrants and locals.

Management of the impacts of immigration should factor in the rights of immigrants (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015). Local authorities should however strive to strike a balance between the city's responsibility towards its residents and the rights of migrants. Indeed, any approach to managing the impacts of immigration should be in line with a commitment to a culture of universal human rights for all the inhabitants of a city, regardless of their residential status or background. Failure on the part of authorities to respond to fears and concerns about the effects of immigration fuels populism and undermines any efforts to effectively manage them (World Economic Forum, 2017:143).

Whilst the impacts of immigration are felt at the local government level, all levels of government should make it their priority to manage them. It is also not helpful for cities to claim that management of immigration is the legislative mandate of the national sphere of government, whilst the impacts are felt more at the local government level.

The list that follows is a range of measures that cities could implement to address the impacts of immigration.

- **Measures to manage the impact of immigration on municipal service delivery**

One of the biggest factors fuelling resistance towards immigration is the fear of its potential impact on municipal finances and the ability of municipalities to continue to deliver essential services. According to Kerr and Kerr (2011:1) a central question is whether immigration burdens the host country's social benefits system, welfare services, education system, and health care sector more than is covered by the taxes paid by the immigrants. An answer to this question will depend on the prevailing socioeconomic conditions in a country. These factors range from unemployment rate, a city's state of the economy and availability of social benefits to immigrants.

A study by Borjas (1994:1713) concluded that countries, which filter immigrants in terms of observable skills, attract workers who are more skilled, have higher earnings and are less likely to access public assistance programmes. Unfortunately, not all countries are in a position to apply these strict measures because of geopolitical and socioeconomic dynamics. These findings are further supported by more recent studies that have shown that immigrants to more developed countries in Europe contribute more in taxes than the social benefits they draw (World Economic Forum, 2017:143). The low unemployment rate in these countries make it easy for immigrants to find jobs and boost the working-age population. It is also worth mentioning that many European countries need to attract skilled immigrants to boost their aging population and declining work force numbers. On the other hand, most developing countries have large populations of young people and high unemployment rates, which make it difficult for immigrants to find jobs. A study by Kerr and Kerr (2011:16) has also shown that the impact of immigration on public finances is greater in countries that have a high unemployment rate.

Whilst cities have a responsibility to manage the impacts of immigration, they cannot do it alone without the assistance of other spheres of government. Immigration places a huge burden on cities' resources and innovative ways have to be found to minimise this. In the UK, for instance, the country's department of Communities and Local

Government (CLG) has established a fund to assist regions where international migration has had the greatest impact (CLG, 2009:38). Cities should therefore have an integrated approach that incorporates all elements of immigration from employment opportunities of immigrants to housing.

Evaluation of the impacts of immigration on cities should not disregard the benefits accruing to cities in terms of taxes and contribution to economic growth. The two most prominent methods to evaluate the impact of immigrants on public finances are the immigration surplus method and the generational accounting method (Kerr & Kerr, 2011:19). This is done by estimating the benefits and costs of immigration to the economy by citizens and immigrants. It is important that cities get a full understanding of the benefits that flow from immigration so that these can be fully exploited. Major cities such as Toronto have been able to get citizens to understand the benefits that accrue to the city because of immigration, thereby managing to get their support.

The key to the management of the impacts of immigration on a city's municipal finances and resources is proper integrated planning that takes into account the benefits and the effects of immigration. Whilst most migration-related initiatives continue to focus on inclusion and integration, the effect of migration on urban infrastructure and services is often underrepresented, affecting the city's overall social and economic development (Charles & Guna, 2017). Cities that have a longitudinal view on planning and incorporated measures to address the impact on resources and infrastructure have managed to optimise the benefits of immigration. This can be done through scenario planning that factors in the impact of projected population increases and impact. This is further augmented by availability of credible statistics, resulting in authoritative knowledge of the impact of population growth on the municipal finances. Availability of credible statistics will also enable the implementation of measures such as financial and social assistance programmes for immigrants and refugees who face financial challenges.

- **Measures to manage the impact of immigration on employment**

One of the most emotive issues related to immigration is the impact it has on employment opportunities of the receiving city's native-born citizens. Whilst employment of migrants should be encouraged in order to reduce the burden on public

finances and social services it should not be done in a manner that undermines a country's labour laws and disregards the impact on employment prospects of citizens. Economic theory predicts that immigration initially confers net economic benefits on the destination country's economy while creating winners and losers among the native-born population via changes in the wage structure (Blau & Mackie, 2017:165). Immigration increases the labour supply of the receiving city and if other factors remain the same, this can result in the relative decline in wages and employment opportunities of citizens, for whom they are close substitutes (Kerr & Kerr, 2011:10). Whilst displacement impacts differ from country to country, depending on the strength of the economy, a study by Borjas (2006) found that immigration has significant impact on employment opportunities of native job seekers. Whilst this differs from country to country and depends on the socioeconomic conditions in a city, experience from other cities show that this is an issue that must not be dismissed or ignored.

In addition, development and review of policies to address employment effects of immigration should be based on empirical evidence and not on untruths and misconception about immigration. Some of the practical steps that cities can implement should include collation and maintenance of data on the skills profile of a city's immigrant population. This should be supplemented with programmes that help match immigrants with suitable jobs. This would provide immigrants with an opportunity to optimally utilise their skills and expertise towards the development of their adopted city. Managed integration of immigrants into a city's labour market helps to address a host of issues, including perceptions of bias towards immigrants by locals. The European Union (European Union, 2018), for instance, has encouraged member states to conduct early profiling of immigrants' skills and their qualifications as a strategy to achieve integration. Cities should also implement measures to monitor compliance with the country's labour laws and not leave this to national government.

- **Measures to manage the spread of informal settlements**

Cities should have programmes that assist immigrants to settle in their adopted communities. This will assist with integration and address some of the social challenges that emanate from unmanaged settlement which result in the mushrooming of informal settlement areas. Immigration New Zealand, for example, has implemented a strategy

and programmes designed to improve settlement outcomes (Grogan, 2008:43). Studies have shown that housing needs by immigrants place a huge burden on the land and housing markets for citizens (World Economic Forum, 2017:31). A housing policy should include measures that would make a city an attractive, competitive and sustainable place in which to settle. These measures by the city authorities can help attract skilled immigrants to a city, whose skills will contribute to its development and growth.

The involvement of the authorities in the settlement of immigrants can help to curb proliferation of irregular or informal settlement areas in cities. Housing is an elementary human need and people will go to great lengths to ensure a roof over their heads. The impact of immigration on availability of urban land and housing should be an integral part of a city's spatial planning. Cities should work closely with statistics and immigration agencies in order to have more accurate projections about immigration numbers. Guided settlement of immigrants can help address a host of other issues such as segregation and lack of integration and social cohesion.

Immigration and urbanisation have a drastic impact on the environment in and around a city and a long-term approach can better prepare the authorities to respond more appropriately. A more proactive approach to immigration could encourage immigrants to settle in parts of a city that need revitalisation due to population declines. Furthermore, cities can use planned settlement of immigrants as a tool to promote economic development. This can be done by encouraging immigrants to settle in areas where their skills are more needed. This can also help alleviate tensions that arise as a result of competition for limited job opportunities.

- **Measures to address crime and security concerns**

One of the most unfortunate things that emanate from failure by authorities to manage immigration and the effects thereof is the prevalent perception that immigration results in increase in crime (Davies & Fagan, 2012:100). Whilst this notion is mostly just a perception fuelled by xenophobia, there are however instances where immigrants, particularly those who are undocumented, have been caught committing crime, resulting in generalisation that breeds resentment. It is also important to note that in many instances native residents are also accomplices in the crimes committed by

immigrants. In addition, it is important to mention that crime that arises as a result of failure by the authorities to manage impacts of migration affects both migrants and citizens

Immigrants should familiarise themselves with laws and regulations that pertain to them in host countries (World Economic Forum, 2017:11). Cities should also be at the forefront of organising platforms that seek to educate immigrants about the laws of the country. These programmes should be part of the initial measures that are designed to assist immigrants to settle down and find jobs, thus discouraging the commission of crime. A more humane approach to integrating immigrants into communities would be to implement programmes that would make it easier for them to acquire proper documentation, without the fear of being arrested and deported. This approach would discourage immigrants from committing crime, as it would be easier for the authorities to trace and arrest them.

Cities should work with other spheres of government to regularise the stay of immigrants in the country. These should include measures that are meant to ensure compulsory documentation of illegal immigrants. All of these measures should be undertaken within a country's legislative framework that governs immigration. In addition, cities should implement holistic plans that seek to integrate their entire value chain from when an immigrant first sets foot in a city to accommodation and integration. A better understanding of the conditions in which immigrants stay can assist cities to proactively address issues that have the potential to lead to the commission of crimes. Immigration-related crime is however not only committed by immigrants. There are crimes that are committed by native-born citizens against immigrants that are driven by misconception and xenophobic attitudes. This could be dealt with through implementation of programmes that seek to educate citizens about the plight of immigrants and their contribution towards the development of cities and economic development. Partnerships with communities could also help curb crimes such as human trafficking, prostitution and xenophobic violence, which targets vulnerable immigrants.

Another way of reducing immigration-related crimes is the formation of partnerships between the city authorities and immigrant community organisations. These associations can help authorities to have a better understanding of some of the

socioeconomic challenges that encourage some immigrants to break the law. A failure on the part of authorities to address the plight of immigrants and to facilitate their smooth integration into their adopted communities can often lead to some immigrants resorting to crime for survival (Knight, 2018).

- **Measures to address tensions in the informal business sector**

Most immigrants leave their countries of origin to look for economic opportunities elsewhere (Bodvarsson & Van den Berg: 2013). These include employment, study and business opportunities. However, conducting business in a foreign country can be a challenge for immigrants. Depending on a city's prevailing economic conditions, enterprising immigrants are at times seen as a threat by local business people. They have been accused of taking over certain economic sectors and displacing locals. Whether these concerns are real or imagined, it is the responsibility of a city to address them. If they are myths they must be dispelled, as ignoring them can give rise to resentment and attacks on immigrants.

Cities must have programmes that enable immigrants to set up their businesses in a manner that takes into account prevailing socioeconomic conditions and concerns of its local residents. For example, a study by the World Bank (World Bank, 2018) recommends that policy should inform development of opportunities for both locals and immigrants whilst not disregarding the concerns of locals. Another example is the concept of *intercultural cities* that is driven by the Council for Europe to assist cities across the European continent with the integration of migrants, discrimination, conflicts, public opinion and entrepreneurship, amongst others (Council for Europe, 2019). Implementation of any measures that are designed to address these concerns should be done within the legislative provisions that protect the rights of both the local business people and the immigrants.

It is in the best interest of cities to ensure that immigrants are familiar with the laws and regulations that govern business conduct. To this end, authorities could organise business seminars that are designed to educate immigrants about the various business opportunities within their jurisdictions and the laws that they have to adhere to. Establishment of walk-in centres have been found to be useful in providing information

to immigrants wanting to understand the intricacies of starting a business in a foreign country.

Cities should encourage the establishment of businesses by immigrants whilst at the same time implementing support programmes for native-born citizens to enable them to compete on an equal footing. These measures can help cities to address incidents of jealousy, resentment and xenophobia.

In addition, cities could implement programmes that facilitate the formation of partnerships between migrant business people and locals. These partnerships can also serve as platforms for sharing skills and knowledge between immigrants and locals. It is also inevitable that a dominance of certain economic sectors by immigrants will cause discontent amongst the locals, particularly in developing countries where there are high levels of poverty. This could be alleviated through the process of issuing business licenses, thus allowing authorities to impose quotas on certain business sectors as a way of bringing about equity. All these should be done within a country's laws and regulations in a manner that upholds the constitutional rights of immigrants as well as locals.

Cities should also be mindful that in the process of prioritising their own citizens that they do not take away the rights of immigrants to participate in economic activity, thus creating other challenges. Immigrant business people contribute immensely to the economic development of cities and the onus is on the authorities to make sure that this message is communicated to the residents to dispel myths and misperceptions about immigrants. Cities can partner with the media to dispel the negative connotations in which local businesses tend to view immigrant businesses (Radipere and Dhliwayo, 2014: 196).

- **Measures to improve integration and social cohesion**

Integration of immigrants into their adopted communities is a crucial element in the management of the impacts of immigration. Adequate and affordable housing is an important facilitator of integration (Carter & Polevychok, 2004:18). This provides an environment that enables immigrants to rebuild their lives and identity (Carter & Polevychok, 2004:18). Local government involvement in resettlement of immigrants can help address tensions between immigrants and locals. Furthermore, the

involvement of authorities in the integration of immigrants creates a feeling that they welcomed into their adopted city, creating a sense of belonging. Programmes designed Resettlement programmes should consider immigrant vulnerabilities and the suitability of the earmarked areas.

Many have prioritised the integration and retention of immigrants as part of their development strategy (Price, 2014:11). The existence of formal programmes designed to assist integration of immigrants help to foster a sense of belonging and enable them to create support structures within communities, is crucial (International Organisation for Migration, 2008:27). These programmes should include measures to address the concerns of local residents and to educate them about the plight of immigrants. Cities that have achieved social cohesion have been able to do so through the implementation of well thought-out integration programs. These cities have programs that inform immigrants about their integration assistance measures long before their arrival. For instance, New Zealand has implemented a programme that prioritises information and referral services for migrants (Grogan, 2008). These cities have adopted policies that seek to optimise the demographic dividend of immigration, allowing them to contribute in developing their adopted cities.

Cities that have large immigrant populations are also characterised by a presence of well-functioning organisations that represent the views of expat communities. These organisations also serve to represent the views and concerns of immigrant communities to local government authorities. They further serve as strategic partners in addressing some of the social challenges and concerns that are unique to certain expat communities. In addition, they play a critical role in assisting recent immigrants to settle and integrate into communities.

Local government policies should reflect linkages between migration and urbanisation (United Nations, 2018). With data showing that immigration is the biggest driver of population growth for cities, it should therefore be a prominent feature of spatial planning to address integration challenges (United Nations, 2018). Whilst many cities have areas that are predominantly populated by immigrants, these are celebrated as tourist hotspots instead of being seen as mere immigrant enclaves. A typical example is the popularity of Chinatown neighbourhoods in major cities, such as Toronto and New York City. Whilst the origins of these neighbourhoods are a subject of

controversy, having originated as a product of institutionalised discrimination and forced segregation, they have become a model of adaptation and cultural pluralism for these cities (Sales, D'Angelo & Lin, 2003:2). They are also home to a variety of Southeast Asian restaurants, making them popular tourist attractions. These neighbourhoods are examples of how cities can embrace and celebrate diversity as a tool to foster integration and social cohesion.

It is worth noting that whilst cities in developed countries cope better with increasing immigration, integration and social cohesion is still a big concern for them as well. However, their responsiveness to these issues has enabled them to manage them better. Studies have shown that cities in developed countries, such as Montreal, Ottawa, Calgary and Berlin, have the most initiatives focusing on integration and social cohesion (World Economic Forum, 2017:10). Most major cities insist on a common language proficiency as part of the mechanisms to ensure smooth integration of immigrants into the communities that they settle in.

Integration of immigrants should not mean that they should lose their own unique identity and culture, as has been proven in cities that have large immigrant populations, such as Canada and Australia. Immigrants are attracted to these cities because of the existence of programmes that assist them to settle down and embrace their adopted cities, whilst retaining their unique cultural background. Integration does not necessarily have to mean assimilation (Cole, 2018). One can therefore be both Chinese and Canadian. Integration, therefore recognises the value that lies in cultural differences for a diverse society. This then requires cities to implement policies that create conditions and spaces, which stimulate encounters that bridge ethnic and cultural divide. Integration should therefore be a dynamic two-way process that brings together immigrants and receiving society to build a secure, vibrant and cohesive society (Grogan, 2008:39).

Cities have to be very intentional with regard to driving integration and social cohesion. This can be done in many ways. Some cities have facilitated the hosting of events such as carnivals and sporting tournaments to celebrate different cultures that exist within their jurisdictions. Lastly, other cities have implemented programmes that seek to dispel misperceptions and stereotyping of immigrants amongst the native-born population.

These programmes have helped to stem the rise of xenophobic tendencies that have resulted in tensions in many cities that have a large population of immigrants.

2.4 Summary and Deductions

In summary, immigration impacts cities in different ways, but the most prominent and most studied are its effect on municipal service delivery, integration, social cohesion and employment. Perceived or real impact on public finance and employment are the most common cited reasons for people's resistance to immigration. Availability of data on immigrants is central to the management of the impacts thereof. Cities that have been able to integrate immigrants into communities have developed programmes that they are able to adapt as circumstances change.

Whilst the list of socioeconomic impacts discussed above is not exhaustive, it does highlight the fact that immigration affects every city differently, depending on the prevailing, peculiar circumstances. In addition, the common thread is that immigration does definitely impact cities, either positively or negatively. The most important thing is that local government authorities should implement measures to minimise the negative impacts and maximise the benefits thereof. Local authorities have to ensure the protection of immigrants and assist them to make a meaningful contribution to the economy whilst at the same time addressing the concerns of the locals. It is also important to have credible data on immigration and its impacts to base decisions on.

The preceding discussions also show that whilst there are some commonalities on how immigration affects cities, there is no universal approach to the management thereof. The impact and the response are dependent on the prevailing circumstances that are unique to a city. There are however certain things that all local authorities have to do, such as collection and maintenance of data on the demographics of immigrants, their documentation and implementation of programmes to promote integration and social cohesion.

Chapter 3 – Legislation and Policies on Managing the Socioeconomic Impacts of Immigration

3.1 Introduction

Whilst the impacts of increased immigration in a country manifest themselves at the local government level, implementation of the policy regulating migration is the purview of the national governments (Sumption, 2014:2). The situation is no different in South Africa, with the Department of Home Affairs having the constitutional mandate of formulating and implementing policies to regulate migration in the interest of the country. Whilst immigration policy formulation and management is the responsibility of national government, the country's constitution does require all three spheres of government (national, provincial and local) to work together and have proper coordination. Cities must work within the existing policy framework to manage the effects of migration, which invariably find expression at local government level.

Some countries have been devolving more autonomy to municipalities in order to enable the implementation of measures that are more appropriate and relevant for different areas. One of the challenges facing South Africa is the lack of appropriate measures in the implementation of measures to address the effects of increased immigration in a manner that takes into account the peculiarities of different regions. In addition, the fact that the mandate for immigration policy lies with the national sphere of government, does not however imply that municipalities could abdicate their responsibility to manage the resultant effects. They have to find innovative ways of working within the existing framework, however imperfect.

The South African government's policy on immigration has at times been described as irrational (van Lennep, 2019). Many people have argued that the policy has discouraged the immigration of people with skills that the country sorely needs in order to grow the economy (Rasool, Botha & Bisschoff, 2012:416). This at a time when the country is experiencing acute brain drain. There is also criticism that recent policy changes that seek to discourage unskilled immigrants, have resulted in inefficiencies, as the Department of Home Affairs battles with a backlog of asylum applications (Madue, 2015:66).

This chapter presents an analysis of the South African immigration policy and other related regulations with a view to providing an understanding of the country's approach to immigration and its effectiveness or lack thereof. The chapter further highlights some of the changes envisaged by government to the country's immigration policy and approach. Chief amongst these are measures meant to manage the country's porous borders through the implementation of the Border Management Agency Act.

3.2 South African Migration Immigration Policy

It is appropriate for a study such as this to start with an examination of the country's policy that informs its response to immigration. In the past, the country has been blamed for being too unfriendly to skilled immigrants and having policies that do not attract skilled professionals. This happened at a time when the country needed to attract skills to grow the economy and compete with other countries for scarce skills. The country has also been very slow in responding to the loss of skilled professionals due to emigration, particularly in the health sector. The skills shortage created by emigration could have been counterbalanced by a more progressive immigration policy and strategy that seeks to attract skilled immigrants from other countries. Instead, the country's immigration policy has been described as being very exclusionary and being driven by its regional and continental obligations, without taking into account the developmental objectives of the country.

The South African policy on international migration is set out in the White Paper on International Migration (Republic of South Africa, 1999). Implementation of the policy was given effect through the Immigration Act 13 of 2002 (Republic of South Africa, 2002). The object of the Act is stated as "To provide for the regulation of admission of persons to, their residence in, and their departure from the Republic; and for matters connected therewith". This is deliberately very broad in order to cover a wide array of issues that are incidental to immigration. In line with the country's constitution, the Act has as its common thread, the promotion of a culture of human rights. The Act is inarguably very progressive and compares quite favourably with other pieces of legislation around the world. It further puts emphasis on the country's continental and regional responsibility.

The country's immigration policy has to be aligned to the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) long-term plan of regional integration. This objective will be difficult to achieve if migration continues to be a problem in the region, instead of being an economic advantage. Whilst SADC's objective of achieving regional integration is a noble one and should be encouraged, the lengthy and expensive administrative processes in member states to acquire documents is discouraging many citizens, forcing them to resort to illegal means to cross borders (Maunganidze & Formica, 2018:7). This frustrates efforts to facilitate free movement of people and goods in the region without compromising security of countries. The challenge that confronts policy makers in South Africa is how to balance regional interests with the country's own developmental needs and security concerns.

The country's painful and divisive past motivated the authors of its constitution to strive for values that foster inclusivity and acceptance. Unfortunately, this is not universally appreciated by all sectors of the country's society. The country's apartheid past meant that some of its citizens were never exposed to how other Africans on the continent lived, resulting in warped ideas about migrants, misconceptions and mistrust towards them (Crush & Ramachandran, 2009:16). These attitudes have unfortunately persisted well into the post-apartheid dispensation, resulting in a lot of animosity for the hordes of immigrants, particularly those from other African countries. This makes the implementation of policies that are immigration friendly very difficult, leaving the government with a policy conundrum.

With the immigration policy having remained the same since 1999, the government issued a new White Paper (Republic of South Africa, 2017) on international migration in 2017, signalling a review of the country immigration legislative regime. This culminated in the amendment of the Immigration Act.

These changes have however been criticised as being too much focused on securitisation of immigration, instead of being development-oriented. Peberdy (2001:14-32) argues that whilst the country has a stated commitment to citizenship, inclusivity, and human rights as markers of belonging, its immigration policy has led, paradoxically, to an exclusive and increasingly restrictionist immigration policy. The reforms are seen as putting the country on a more restrictive trajectory (van Lennep,

2019). This is in stark contrast to the country's very progressive constitution and the approach adopted during the Mandela-era (van Lennep, 2019)

Peberdy (2001:14-32) argues that South Africa's immigration policy must be seen in the context of the nation-building project of the post-1994 state and the need to construct a new inclusive national identity based on citizenship and territorial integrity. This approach, whilst correct at the time, cannot be static in the face of a rapidly changing world and the country's economic challenges. Hammerstad (2011:2), for instance, laments the "benign policy neglect" of the impact and opportunities of the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants by the South African government. Hammerstad (2012:2) further argues that South Africa's immigration approach towards Zimbabwe was geared more towards addressing foreign policy than addressing domestic concerns.

The country needs to adapt its immigration policy and refocus it as a tool to drive economic development. This, however, is difficult without getting the buy-in of the population that sees immigration as a threat instead of a demographic dividend that could aid in the country's development. The intractably high levels of poverty and inequality have been blamed for the increasing resistance to immigration in the country. These resistance has unfortunately found expression in the xenophobic attacks that the country has been witnessing. With immigrants having played such a pivotal role in the country's development and democratization, the government is duty bound to educate its citizens that implementation of policies that seek to curb immigration would not only be difficult but would result in isolation in a world that is becoming more interdependent. Should this perspective prevail, it would have disastrous consequences for the country's economy.

Oucho and Oucho (2012) write about the folly of development and implementation of policy without the realisation of their inter-dependence. They argue that policies that are meant to drive poverty alleviation should take into account the impact of migration and vice versa. This symbiotic relationship between poverty and migration is an important one for the South African context because of countless conjectures and opinions that often seem to disregard existing data and facts on immigration. South Africa is in the grip of rapid urbanisation, which in itself brings about challenges around areas such as human settlement, provision of health and social services. It is important that policy reforms respond effectively to these challenges.

3.2.1 Border Management Agency

Following the incessant outcry over the country's porous borders, the country is now in the process of establishing a single authority to manage all ports of entry, following the passing of the Border Management Bill by the country's parliament (Estimates of National Expenditure, 2019:3). It is estimated that over 40 million people pass through the country's borders for various reasons such as asylum, education, economic, business and leisure. The absence of a single dedicated capacity to this area has been a huge vacuum that compounded the challenges brought about by the country's porous borders. Once passed into law, the bill will add another legislative arm to the current regulation of people's movement into and out of the country. The establishment of the agency itself has been in the pipeline for a very long time. In what has characterized the country's lack of clarity on the management of its borders, the finalization of the bill was delayed by the turf war between the revenue collection agency, the South African Revenue Services and the Department of Home Affairs, under which the border management agency will fall once it has been established.

The establishment of the Border Management Agency will help to bring a more focused approach to the management of immigration and control of the country's borders. This is in line with other countries such as Canada, which has Canada Border Services Agency, which manages and controls movement of people in and out of Canada. The agency will help fill a vacuum that was created at the dawn of democracy when the government decided to withdraw most of the personnel away from the country's borders.

The creation of the agency is in the main intended to bring an integrated approach to the country's border management. Some of the touted benefits include the facilitation of legal movement in and out of the country, the eradication of corruption, and combating of corruption and human trafficking. The extent to which these benefits will be realised will depend on the operational efficiency of the agency and will further hinge on the extent to which it can be insulated from corruption that has bedevilled the Department of Home Affairs.

3.2.2 Summary of the country's legislative regime on immigration

Table 3.1 below provides a summary of the country's legislative regime governing immigration.

Table 3. 1: Summary of the country immigration laws

SUMMARY OF THE COUNTRY'S LAWS GOVERNING IMMIGRATION	
SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATION	DESCRIPTION
Refugee Act 1998 (Act 130 of 1998)	Legislation regulating asylum seekers and refugee applications in South Africa. The act outlines the recognition of refugees, the asylum-seeking process and the refugee appeal process.
Employment Services Act 2014 (Act 4 of 2014) Implemented in August 2015)	Designed to establish work schemes to enable vulnerable sectors of the population to enter employment, and to create opportunities for self-employment and facilitate youth employment.
Licensing of Small Businesses Bill, 2013	South African government initiative to regularise small scale and informal businesses. All businesses would be required to register, irrespective of size. Failure to do so would result in monetary and/or criminal penalties.
Immigration Act 2002 (Act 13 of 2002) (Regulations published in 2014)	The regulations introduced the critical skills visa. The act has been criticised for being administratively burdensome.
Border Management Agency Bill, 2015	The bill looks to establish the agency that will perform border law enforcement functions at land and port borders and facilitate trade.

SUMMARY OF THE COUNTRY'S LAWS GOVERNING IMMIGRATION	
SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATION	DESCRIPTION
Zimbabwe and Lesotho special dispensation programmes, 2009 and 2016 respectively	Designed to facilitate the regularisation of irregular Zimbabwean and Lesotho nationals living in South Africa.
Green Paper on International Migration, June 2016	Gazetted by the South African government for public comment and input in June 2016.

3.2.3 National policy and local government development

The challenge that most cities face is how to effectively respond to impacts of immigration in line with the legislative framework that is the purview of national government. Local government policies are critical in ensuring that immigrants integrate and contribute to the overall development of localities (Price, 2014:3). National laws do not preclude local government authorities from developing their own policies that respond to challenges that are unique to their situations, as long as these are not in contradiction of national laws. The situation is not different in South Africa, where cities can enact by-laws and regulations that are aligned to the national prescripts that govern local government sphere. The country's cities face different developmental challenges, which should inform their policy responses. Studies have shown that in the United States, local governments develop innovative practices to improve local competitiveness, reverse demographic decline, stimulate entrepreneurship, reduce poverty, and respond to the failure of the federal government to institute immigration reforms (Price, 2014:3). Cities must develop policies that not only focus on the negative aspects of immigration but also look at how immigration could be used as a driver for development. In addition, local government authorities have to make sure that all their officials are familiar with all the provisions regulating immigration in the country.

The South African legislative framework regulating immigration has often been criticized for lacking a developmental thrust, particularly on recruitment of skilled immigrants (Rasool, Botha & Bisschoff, 2012: 416). The White Paper on International

Migration (Republic of South Africa, 2017) further argues that South Africa has not yet built consensus at policy, legislative and strategic levels on how to manage international migration for development. This is not helpful for local government authorities, which are at the forefront of development. Whilst the South African immigration law seeks to regulate the entry of people into the country and their residential status, cities need to find ways in which they could work within this framework to use immigration to drive the developmental agenda. Many immigrants who settle in the cities are entrepreneurs who are looking for business opportunities. Cities need to take advantage of this aspect of immigration to aid development. However, many immigrants often find the country's immigration laws quite onerous and a barrier to starting businesses. Cities could assist immigrants by incorporating the role of immigrants' businesses in their developmental agendas. This has to be accompanied by concrete plans on how immigrants are going to be supported to establish businesses. In New York, for example, the mayor has established what is called Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs (MOIA). Chicago also established Chicago's Office of New Americans, which both provide information and services to foster integration and assist in establishing businesses (Price, 2014:4). In addition, Cities also create immigrant councils, publish critical materials in multiple languages, develop innovative after-school programmes, and work with immigrant-established business associations and chambers of commerce. These measures serve as examples of what cities could achieve within the existing national legislative frameworks.

A report by Enterprise Observatory of South Africa shows that more than 400 000 high-income professionals emigrated since 1994, with devastating impact on tax revenue prospects for the country (Enterprise Observatory of South Africa, 2019). With the report further showing that the country has lost 83 000 companies in the financial and business sector in the past ten years, the resulting unemployment and decline in revenues will impact cities' coffers for a long time to come. Cities have to engage national government to ensure that changes to the immigration legislative framework create an enabling environment for them to recruit and retain skilled immigrants to drive their developmental agenda.

3.3 Summary and Deductions

In conclusion, recent changes to the country's immigration policy is an admission that the current approach has not worked in the country's favour. The country has to ensure that the legislative frameworks regulating migration do not remain static, but continue to respond to the changing world. Policy implementation has to take into account government's constitutional obligation to secure the country's sovereignty whilst balancing this with its developmental imperatives. With the debate on immigration dominated by too many assumptions, the country's authorities have to avoid being swayed by emotive pronouncements that are not backed up by credible data and facts. The current legislative frameworks have clearly not responded to the increasing global competition for skilled professionals. The current suit of policy measures have not assisted in managing immigration in a manner that makes the country attractive to skilled immigrants.

Lastly, the current legal arrangements that given the national sphere of government the sole responsibility of managing the immigration policy has left cities feeling disempowered. The solution lies in a smooth intergovernmental arrangement and cooperation. This cooperation should include consideration of the concerns and developmental challenges of local government authorities. Cities have to ensure that they find innovative ways to make immigration a driver of development whilst at the same time responding to the negative effects of immigration. They have to see the existing legislative frameworks, however flawed, as an enabler and not a hindrance.

Chapter 4 – Case Study: Management of the Socioeconomic Impacts of Immigration in the City of Tshwane

4.1 Introduction

A study on migration and its impact on cities by the World Economic Forum found that half of the world's population resides in urban areas (World Economic Forum, 2017:5). The report further states that welcoming cities have shown that well-managed immigration can be an asset to economies and societies. Inversely, poorly managed immigration can be a burden on a city, resulting in a plethora of challenges. Poor management of immigration has created hostility towards immigrants and the onus is on governments at all levels to reverse this by building a positive narrative that highlights the overwhelming benefits of immigration.

The World Economic Forum report further shows that South Africa is one of the world's major migration routes (World Economic Forum, 2017:23). High unemployment on the African continent, conflict-induced displacements and increased immigration restrictions in Europe have contributed to an increase in immigration in the country (Tati, 2008). Most of the migrants chose to settle in the country's major cities.

One of the country's major cities is the City of Tshwane. It is a vast metropolitan area, stretching from Centurion in the south to Hammanskraal in the north.. Covering an area of 6 298 square kilometres, it is one of the biggest metropolitan areas in the world as, reflected in Table 4.1 below (City of Tshwane, 2015). The population of the city is estimated to be approximately 3 million, with an annual growth rate of 3%.¹ Pretoria, which is situated here, is the capital city of the country. As a result, many government departments are headquartered here, providing employment opportunities for thousands of people. The city is home to thousands of immigrants from various parts of the world, making it one of the most diverse cities in the world. Whilst the city attracts many people who are in pursuit of opportunities in different areas such as employment, academia and business, the authorities do not have exact figures relating to

¹ *Source: Stats SA (Census 2011) - The total population (including incorporated areas) reflects a growth rate of 3,1% per annum from 2001 to 2011.

immigration. There is ample evidence of various expat communities in most parts of the city, a feature that presents immense potential for the city, if strategically harnessed. The city has also been expanding quite drastically in the last few years. The increase in the size of the metropolitan area itself and population increase has brought about complex service delivery challenges. The resultant failure by the authorities to deliver services and address socioeconomic challenges has seen immigrants been used as scapegoats.

Table 4.1 below shows the area and population size of the City of Tshwane, in comparison to the other big municipalities in Gauteng province.

Table 4. 1: Population comparison across municipalities in Gauteng

Name	Area (km ²)	Population, 2015	As % to GP, 2015
Johannesburg	1 645	4 822 787	37%
Ekurhuleni	1 975	3 386 544	26%
Tshwane	6 298	3 161 809	24%
Sedibeng	4 173	946 818	7%
West Rand	4 087	833 358	6%

Source: IHS Global Insight, Regional eXplorer 1029 (2.5w), 2015, Cited by City of Tshwane (2015)

Whilst there is no doubting the contribution of immigrants to the development of the city, it is the failure by the authorities, both local and national, to manage the resultant socioeconomic impacts that has created the anti-immigrant sentiment that is so prevalent amongst the citizens. These impacts manifest in various guises at a local government level. These include uncontrolled and unplanned human settlement in and around the city, resulting in an increase in informal settlements, illegal labour practices and tensions, which sadly manifest in violence against immigrants. In addition, there are growing tensions between South African and immigrant traders in the informal business sector, particularly in the townships. Failure by the authorities to give the necessary attention to these issues, is having an adverse impact on social cohesion in the city.

Inaction and lack of policy coherence between different spheres of government further exacerbates the situation as no one wants to take responsibility for the resultant

challenges. Challenges in the informal settlements such as overcrowding, crime and poor hygiene are a clear indication of non-responsiveness by the authorities. It is in these areas where immigration related challenges are more pronounced.

This section provides an analysis of how the City of Tshwane is managing the impacts of increasing immigration. It first starts by presenting a discussion of the specific areas that have been impacted by immigration in the city. These impacts are limited to areas that are more relevant to the City of Tshwane, which are municipal service delivery, employment, informal settlements, crime and security concern, the informal business sector and integration and social cohesion.

4.2 The Socioeconomic Impacts of Immigration in the City of Tshwane

Immigration affects receiving countries in different ways, depending on the prevailing socioeconomic conditions. Whether immigration becomes an asset or a burden further depends on the responsiveness of the government. Whilst it is generally accepted that there is a tendency by residents to blame their problems on immigrants, good policymaking dictates that a proper investigation of the effects of immigration should be undertaken. Whereas there is abundance of data on the effects of immigration from the historical immigration destinations of the North, proper analysis in the South countries is still characterised by “risk assessments, interest groups’ pleas and opinion polls” (Kabwe-Segatti, 2008:56). This data lacuna makes policy making on the matter difficult.

The growing anti-immigrant sentiments in developing countries undermines the potentially beneficial relationship between immigration and development (Crush & Ramachandran, 2009:3). The persistent cycle of crime directed at immigrants in the City of Tshwane has often been blamed on socioeconomic conditions and a fight for limited resources. Whilst there are differing views on this, the situation certainly warrants further investigation.

Violence against immigrants is a threat to the stability of the city and its continued ability to attract investment. An analysis of the immigration challenges in South Africa have to take into account the country’s deep-seated challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment. This reality should inform government’s policy response. The

effects of increased immigration on South Africa is further underlined by Araoye (2015:10) who feels that the country has had to bear the brunt of the “tsunami” that is ripping through Europe and Asia, albeit with less resources and an economy that is struggling. These challenges happen amidst the country’s struggle to deal with its past legacies of segregation.

Its numerous benefits notwithstanding, one of the hotly debated issues about immigration is its impact on employment. With employment opportunities ranking very highly in the minds of African migrants that come to South Africa, the debate about the impact on low-skilled South Africa workers has been raging. Whilst it is widely accepted that many immigrants bring much needed skills into the country and in the city, it is also true that failure by the government to properly manage immigration has led to an influx of thousands of unskilled immigrants, many of whom have been taken advantage of by unscrupulous employers. This is mainly attributable to a failure by government officials to enforce compliance with the country’s labour laws. The country’s Immigration Regulations of 2014 require the staff complement of companies must consist of at least 60% of South Africans (Republic of South Africa, 2014). However, some employers do not comply with these requirements, with studies showing that foreign-born immigrants have a higher employment rate than South African immigrants (African Centre for Migration and Society, 2017). In an economy that is struggling to create jobs, this has resulted in increased animosity between South Africans and immigrants.

In addition, a study by Migrating for Work Research Consortium (MiWORC) found that international migrants in South Africa have a lower unemployment rate than locals, compared to other countries where unemployment is higher amongst immigrants (The Guardian, 2015). The study also shows that 14,68% of international migrants are unemployed, compared to 26,16% amongst locals (The Guardian, 2015). It further found that 32,65% of international migrants are employed in formal sectors, compared to 16,57% of “non-migrants” and 17,97% of “domestic migrants”.

One of the most hotly contested issues is the impact of the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy and the impact subsequent increase in immigrants has had on South Africa. Whilst it has been difficult to have accurate numbers, some have estimated the number of Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa at approximately 3 million, (Hammerstad,

2011:2). Hammerstad further believes that the South African government's immigration approach to Zimbabweans living in the country can best be described as "benign neglect" at overall policy level, coupled with harassment by police and immigration officials. This approach has a detrimental effect on the city and the country at large. Corruption in the country's home affairs department has resulted in many foreigners obtaining fraudulent identity documents, further frustrating any efforts to establish the exact number of immigrants in the country (Hammerstad, 2011:2). In spite of these findings, there are studies that have shown the impact of immigration on employment prospects of South Africans to be minimal. The issue must nonetheless be given the necessary attention.

The challenges of uncontrolled immigration are more evident in informal areas than in more urban and affluent areas. These areas are characterised by congestion, lack of ablution facilities and lack of running water. These are conducive conditions for development and spread of communicable diseases. Many South African cities have been facing violent service delivery protests as they battle with the ever-increasing demands for services and the city of Tshwane is no exception.

In addition many of the people that feel the impact of uncontrolled immigration in the city are mostly those residing in the informal settlements (Vearey, Misago, Araia & Monama, 2014:35). In Tshwane, these includes areas such as Soulsville in Atteridgeville and various other places in Soshanguve and Mamelodi. These areas are characterised by poor service delivery and lack of governance structures. Lack of government involvement has left the integration of immigrants in the hands of local communities (Madue, 2015:68). What should be a "melting pot" of different cultures, is sadly become a symbol of discontent as locals unleash anger against vulnerable immigrants, who are forever seen as outsiders.

There have been complaints that increasing immigration is putting considerable strain on the public facilities and resources (Businesstech, 2018). Immigration has been blamed for increasing service delivery challenges, from shortage of beds and medicine in hospitals to overcrowded classes in schools. Whilst it is difficult to get reliable numbers, it is estimated that approximately 70% of pregnant women who give birth at the city's Kalafong hospital are from foreign countries (Moatshe, 2018).

Many countries around the world are faced with the challenges of rapid urbanization. This in itself is a serious challenge that puts massive strain on limited resources and requires careful planning from the authorities. Uncontrolled immigration in the city of Tshwane has added to the challenges brought about by urbanization as the number of people who require services increase. The difficult economic climate means that most residents are not able to pay for the services, resulting in the quality of services being compromised.

The failure by the authorities to manage the impacts of immigration has also resulted in the failure to harness its positive effects and ensure that the city benefits from some of its aspects such as scarce skills that could be used to contribute to the development of the entire country. The country has for a long time experienced a shortage of teachers, engineers and doctors, amongst others.

The preceding section shows that whilst there is no doubting the benefits that accrue to the city as a result of immigration, the city, like other major cities in the country, has been drastically impacted as a result of this. This situation requires urgent attention and poor management of the effects of immigration such as unregulated human settlements is hampering the efforts of bringing communities closer to the city centre. Congestion and non-compliance with bylaws has made these places unattractive to South Africans, frustrating the efforts aimed at fostering social cohesion and integration of immigrants into communities.

4.3 Managing the Socioeconomic Impacts of Immigration in the City of Tshwane

4.3.1 Introduction

Immigration affects cities in many different ways. The degree of impacts vary and depends on the prevailing socioeconomic conditions in a city. In addition, the degree of impact depends on the manner in which these impacts are managed by various stakeholders. This also depends on the extent of the benefits that accrue to a city because of immigration. Most established cities have managed to ensure that the net result of immigration is a positive one. Whilst local governments in South Africa have been

constitutionally empowered to be leading forces of development, they have been reluctant to address migration concerns (Landau & Segatti, 2011:81).

The City of Tshwane, as part of a country that is relatively a young democracy, faces unique developmental challenges. These include addressing apartheid human settlement patterns that kept certain race groups out of the city centre and away from economic opportunities (Clarke & Laurens, 2015:40). In addition, the city has to address the growing levels of poverty that are a result of high unemployment levels. The task of addressing these challenges is compounded by rapid urbanization and growing immigration and the resultant socioeconomic impacts. In the past few years, increased immigration in the city has presented challenges that threaten harmonious coexistence amongst its residents. Any approach meant to address the socio-economic challenges has to factor in the city's peculiarities such as the deep inequalities that characterize it, the high unemployment rate, the city's poverty levels and the legal framework, which protects human rights for all the inhabitants of the city.

The prevalence of xenophobic attacks and negative attitudes toward foreign migrants, fuelled by high unemployment, poverty, deprivation and crime in South Africa have left many migrants feeling fearful and vulnerable (StatsSA, 2011:7). The constitutional right to safety extends to all people within the country's borders, regardless of their residential status, and government's failure to prevent attacks on immigrants is nothing short of dereliction of its constitutional responsibility. A proper management of the impacts of immigration by government is in the interests of both immigrants and the citizens. Government's failure to manage the impacts of immigration has a negative effect on all the residents of the city, regardless of their residential status.

Whilst there are many ways in which immigration affects communities, this research will focus only on areas that are more relevant to South Africa in general and the City of Tshwane in particular and their management by the city's authorities. The objective of this chapter is to highlight specific areas that have been impacted by increased immigration as well as how the City of Tshwane's authorities have responded to these challenges. The chapter will focus on the following six socioeconomic impacts of increased immigration on the City of Tshwane:

- Municipal service delivery
- Employment

- Informal settlements
- Crime and security and crime concern
- The informal business sector
- Integration and social cohesion

The contribution of immigrants from the SADC region to the country's mining sector over the years is something that sometimes gets lost in the debate on immigration. Government's failure to effectively communicate the role played by immigrants in building the country's economy perpetuates the belief that immigration is only negative for the country. This then fuels the hardening of attitudes towards immigrants. Any approach to the management of immigration should therefore not only respond to the concerns about the negative impacts of increased immigration, real or perceived, but should also extoll the benefits that accrue to a country as well. This section therefore further highlights the failure by the authorities to effectively communicate the positive contribution of immigrants to the development of the country.

4.3.2 Management of the impact of immigration on municipal service delivery

One of the areas that have been adversely impacted by increased immigration is the municipality's ability to deliver services to the city's inhabitants. According to the findings of the study conducted in 2011 by Landau and Segatti (2011:16) "the invisibility of large segments of the population, including domestic and international migrants, can result in much greater demand for services than predicted, reducing service quality and outstripping budgetary allocations". The city's resources and finances have been stretched as it is forced to provide services to more people, the majority of whom are not able to pay. The City of Tshwane is duty bound by the Constitution to provide basic services to its residents, including those who do not have the means to pay. To this end the City has implemented an indigent programme, which manages the provision of free basic services to residents who cannot afford to pay. It is however, worth noting that one of the qualifying criteria for one to qualify for free basic services is that one must be a South African citizen. It is also worth mentioning that the country's Bill of Rights does not discriminate between citizens and non-citizens. This

exclusionary practice by the city's authorities also means that they are missing out on an opportunity to collate accurate data on the extent of non-payment in the city.

It is generally accepted that an increase in population numbers puts a huge burden on a country's limited resources, if this is not accompanied by a commensurate increase in employment opportunities. One of the areas impacted is the resources required for law enforcement (Defence Web, 2011). In addition, an increase in a city's population puts a strain on resources such as land, housing, education and health care. The City of Tshwane's budget is struggling to keep pace with the increasing demand for services, resulting in poor quality and violent protests from disgruntled communities. The most recent customer satisfaction survey by Consulta shows that all the country's metropolitan cities are struggling to deliver quality services to their residents, with the City of Tshwane regarded as one of the four bottom performers (Consulta, 2019). In November 2018, the National Council of Provinces, (NCOP), warned that increasing immigration is placing a huge burden on cities' ability to deliver services to citizens (News24, 2018).

The South African economy is continuing to falter and has not sustained a consistent growth trajectory in a very long time. This has resulted in an increase in the country's unemployment rate. This means that a large section of the population in the City of Tshwane is struggling to pay for the provision of services such as water and sewerage removal, putting a considerable strain on the city's finances. With most immigrants settling in Johannesburg and Tshwane, the two cities' resources have been strained (The Citizen, 2018). The result is poor delivery of services and a curtailing of some.

In 2016, one of the global credit rating agencies, Moody's warned that the country's low economic growth rate is eroding its tax base (Fin24, 2016). Shortages in the national coffers are reflected at local government level where service delivery takes place. Concurrent functions such as provision of health and housing are adversely affected, with the local government authority having to deal with the consequences and the disgruntlement that is usually reflected in violent service delivery protests.

The City of Tshwane has failed to collaborate closely with national government to ensure that service delivery in the most impoverished areas is prioritised above others and to improve communication to keep communities informed about the challenges that exist and the measures taken to address them. The result has been a growing tendency

of residents in poor informal settlements to blame immigrants, instead of their elected leaders, for the service delivery failures. The City has not been proactive in anticipating the growing discontent amongst residents and the resultant violent service delivery protests.

Whilst the provincial government is responsible for certain concurrent functions, there are other services such as provision of health services through local clinics, which are the responsibility of the city. With provision of health being a constitutional right, the city has to provide treatment to many people who are not able to pay, putting considerable strain on the resources. The city already has a problem with revenue collection due to the culture of non-payment that took root during the struggle against apartheid, which means even people who can afford to pay, simply refuse to do so.

In addition, the lack of accurate data on immigration has affected the city's ability to plan and budget effectively. A report on a case study that was conducted by Misago, Takabvirwa, Kanyane, and Siziba (2010:7) revealed that the City of Tshwane did not have a department or a unit dedicated to population planning, making the availability of timely, accurate and reliable data impossible. The city relies on StatsSA household surveys, which are conducted between national census gatherings. It was also revealed that in the absence of such a unit, the city did not know the exact number and demographics of its inhabitants. This situation makes it very difficult for the city to fully understand how increased immigration is affecting its finances.

Whilst many cities in developed countries see immigration as a demographic dividend, most cities in South Africa see it as a burden because of their inability to take full advantage of it. The City of Tshwane has not been able to ensure that it derives maximum benefits from increasing immigration whilst implementing measures to ensure that its negative effects on public finances are minimised. Another common concern among municipal officials about migration, is the burden it places on municipal finances, and its potential to undermine their performance targets (Landau & Segatti 2011:35). There is also a fear that provision of services for new immigrants will only beget further immigration. This notion is in line with the pull factor theory, where immigrants move to areas where they feel their needs will be catered for.

Whilst the authorities in the City of Tshwane do not seem to appreciate the impact of immigration on public finances, many cities have long awakened to this reality and

have put measures in place to minimise the impact. According to Kerr and Kerr (2011:3), fears in receiving countries often stem from perceived fiscal and social strains that would accompany the assimilation of a large number of less-educated workers. After many decades of recruiting unskilled, cheap labour from neighbouring countries in the Southern African region, South Africa has not adapted its immigration policy to ensure that only people that have the skills necessary to sustain themselves and contribute to the country's development are allowed into the country. This is not withstanding the country's commitment to assisting refugees fleeing persecution in their own countries.

The impact of immigration on public finances is more relevant to the City of Tshwane now than ever before given the increasing number of people who are unemployed which results in less people contributing to its coffers in terms of rates and taxes. Whilst there is no doubt that many immigrants contribute to the country's fiscus through taxes, it is also true that a number of illegal immigrants, particularly those from the SADC region, are unskilled and unemployed, making it impossible for them to pay for the services that they receive. Research shows that the only way to improve the contribution of immigrants to the fiscus is by increasing the number of those who are employed (The Economist, 2013:75). This is becoming increasingly difficult in an economy that is not creating jobs.

The impact on public finances is more noticeable in the health sector, which has been struggling to pay service providers, adversely affecting their ability to meet their contractual obligations (Mvumvu, 2019). Government data shows that this debt is growing, threatening the continued provision of services. This situation is clearly not sustainable as government struggles to meet its constitutional obligation to ensure the provision of basic services. Continued provision of these services is dependent on a healthy state of public finances, which in turn is dependent on a steady growth in the number of people who are paying taxes. Whilst the provision of health is mainly the responsibility of the provincial department of health, these challenges have a direct bearing on the inhabitants of the City of Tshwane.

The country's Constitution includes a Bill of Rights that enshrines the rights of all people in the country, regardless of their residential status. These rights include, in section 27 of the Constitution, access to health care, food, water and social security

(Republic of South Africa, 1996). The Constitution enjoins the state to take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of each of these rights. Subsection 3, however, is more direct as it states that no one may be refused emergency medical treatment (Republic of South Africa, 1996). These are noble requirements and indeed correct ones and they serve as a testimony to the progressive nature of the country's constitution, which has been lauded for being one of the best in the world. These rights are enforceable and any resident that feels that their rights are being infringed upon or being threatened has a right to approach the courts for recourse. As a result of these constitutional obligations, the state has been providing a range of free basic services to millions of residents that are not able to pay for themselves. The City of Tshwane is duty bound to provide free basic services to indigent people who are unemployed and cannot afford to pay for services. Consequently, the city has more people that are accessing free basic services, increasing the strain on its finances.

All these challenges point to a government that has been slow in responding to the challenges brought about by the increase in immigration and its impact on public finances. According to Preston the consequences of the impact of immigration on a country's public finances is a major issue from a public policy perspective (Preston, 2014:F569.) The City of Tshwane and the country at large have experienced a lot of public opposition to immigration in recent years. There is no evidence that the government has fully considered the extent to which this perception has contributed to the increased opposition to immigration. Preston further argues that a proper understanding of the impact of immigration on public finances is a necessary input into decision making on immigration policy and a necessary ingredient to planning for its implication (2014:F569).

Studies show that countries with a generous welfare policy tend to attract more immigrants (Borjas, 1998:3). South Africa correctly implemented the social welfare system to pull people out of poverty, however the extent to which this policy is contributing to the increase in immigration is hampered by lack of accurate data and thus has not been fully understood. Members of parliament were informed by the Department of Home Affairs that many foreigners were enjoying South Africa's welfare and pension benefits (News24, 2011). Studies have however dispelled the notion of high number of immigrant children accessing social grants (Africa Check,

2018). This again demonstrates how disinformation can lead to poor policy decisions. In addition, statements by government departments need to be based on facts and should be weighed against the potential impact they can have on society that takes it on face value.

South Africa's public finances are increasingly getting more precarious with the budget deficit threatening the continued delivery of services to the citizens. The longitudinal planning must factor in projected population growth. However, the continued disregard of the impact of immigration on population growth constitutes bad planning that will have disastrous consequences for the local government authorities in the long run. Many people have been warning that the country's current welfare system is not sustainable and the lack of appreciation of the impact of immigration on population growth, which is a key ingredient in policy-making, is a very dangerous stance on the part of government. This constitutes poor policy-making and management.

4.3.3 Management of the impact of immigration on employment

Unemployment in South Africa has become the single biggest crisis facing the post-apartheid government. Data released by StatsSA during March 2018, showed that at the end of the 2017 fourth quarter, the country's unemployment rate stood at 26.7%, having declined from a record high of 27.7%. Whilst these numbers show that some sectors created new jobs, others shed thousands of jobs. What is even more of a concern is that it is estimated that almost half of the country's youth is unemployed. This is a grave concern in a country where majority of the population is youth. Hence, many people have been warning that the country's unemployment problem is a ticking time bomb.

A report by the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) shows that there are more people who are on social grants than those who have jobs (Institute of Race Relations, 2017). The survey further revealed that "in 2001 there were 12 494 000 people in employment and 3 993 133 people receiving social grants. By 2016, however, the number of people receiving grants had increased by 328% while those with jobs increased by only 24%" (Institute of Race Relations, 2017). In 2016, there were 15 545 000 people with jobs in South Africa while 17 094 331 people were receiving social grants (Institute of Race Relations, 2017). The IRR rightly describes this situation as a recipe for chaos and violence.

An increase in the country's population means that the country's labour force has increased without the requisite increase in employment. A report by the Institute of Race Relations (2015:5) shows that South Africa's unemployment rose from 3.67 million in 1994 to 8.33 million in 2014.

In addition, the 2009 study by Burger and Fintel (2009:3) highlights the fact that unemployment in South Africa had been on an increase since the 1970s, but accelerated after 1994, coinciding with the relaxation of borders and the easing of immigration policy. According to Butler (2009:92), unemployment almost doubled from 16 percent in 1995 to 30 percent in 2002, further lending credence to the impact of the influx of cheap labour into the country post-1994. In addition, illegal immigrants are often poorly educated and compete for jobs with lower classes of the host country (Campbell, 2006:6).

Research shows that 8% of Gauteng's workers were born outside the country (The Citizen, 2018). The cities of Tshwane and Johannesburg naturally house the majority of these workers because of the proximity to the borders in the north and their relatively advanced economies. Research further shows that whilst 82% of the working population aged between 15 and 64 were non-migrants, immigrants from outside the country are more likely to be employed than non-migrants. This is further corroborated by Budlender (2014:8) who also found that people born outside of the country were more likely to be employed in the private sector than in the public sector, with many of them working in construction, trade, agriculture and households. Research also shows that, in spite of the country's high unemployment rate, many foreigners are more likely to be employed than South African-born workers (OECD/IOL, 2018:29). There could be many reasons for this, with many people arguing that employers prefer to employ foreign workers because they are more likely to accept low wages than their South African counterparts. Employing foreign workers also helps employers bypass the onerous labour legislation.

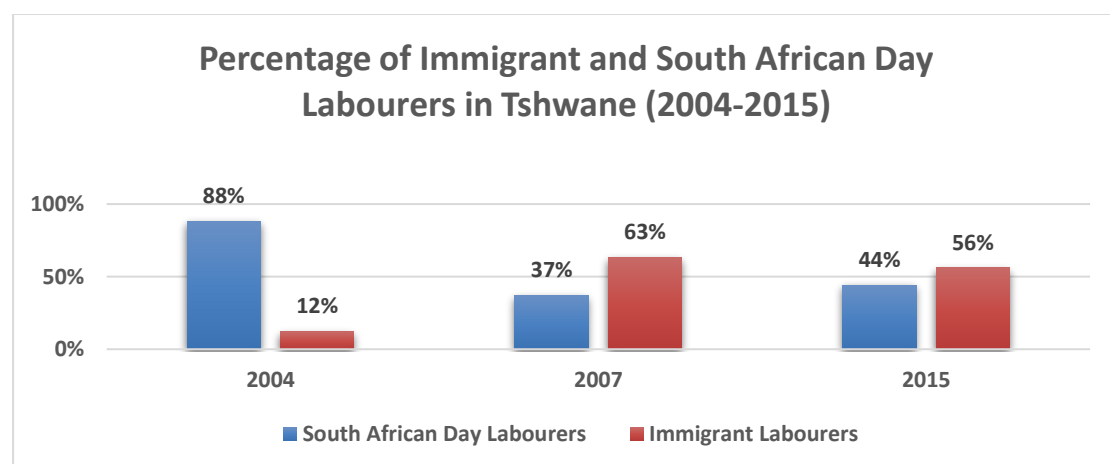
Whilst other studies have shown that migrants have skills that are attractive to employers, the extent to which these skills cannot be found amongst the country's citizens has not been established. Findings show that over 60% of migrants are employed and many are more likely to find work while in South Africa (Perberdy, Crush & Msibi, 2004:23). According to Fakir (2014), foreigners have 81% rate of

employment, whereas South Africans have a 65% employment rate. In addition Vigneswaran (2008: 135), found that undocumented immigrants compete with South Africans for jobs, resulting in their displacement. In addition, a study by Broussard (2017: 418) showed that international migration has had an adverse impact on the employment prospects of black South Africans.

With its large community of immigrants, the City of Tshwane, has not escaped the impact of immigration on employment opportunities for South Africans living within its jurisdiction. Whilst the above findings are a general view of the impact of immigration on employment of locals in South Africa, they are as much applicable to the City of Tshwane. Unemployment has particularly impacted the city's youth. According to the country census conducted in 2011, the city has 3 million inhabitants, with 2 million of these being young people under the age of 39. This represents 69% of the city's population. According to report by the country's statistics agency, Statistics South Africa (StatsSA), the city has an unemployment rate of 26%, which mirrors the country's rate. The majority of these people who are unemployed are the youth. This should be a matter of grave concern to the city's authorities.

A survey that was conducted between 2004 and 2015 shows some displacement effect on South African day labourers (Theodore, Blaauw, Schenck & Pretorius, 2017:3). 72% of the respondents admitted that they were in the country illegally, with just 11% producing a visa or passport. Figure 4.1 below shows the percentage of immigrants and South African day labourers in Tshwane.

Figure 4. 1: Percentage of Immigrant and South African Day Labourers in Tshwane between 2004 and 2015



Source: Theodore, Blaauw, Schenck and Pretorius (2017:3)

The increase in unemployed South Africans in the City of Tshwane can be also be attributed to the failure by the authorities to enforce labour laws. Whilst the responsibility to enforce compliance with these requirements lies with the national Department of Labour, the city has failed to implement programmes to assist its citizens that have been adversely affected, particularly its youth.

On the other hand, some researchers have argued that migrant workers can have a positive impact on a country's labour market by bringing in the scarce skills into the country (Chamunorwa & Mlambo, 2014:2631). A case in point here is the country's agreement with the Cuban government to bring that country's doctors into the country to work in public hospitals. The country has also benefitted from teachers that came from Zimbabwe following the collapse of its economy, with statistics showing that Zimbabwe supplied 61% of migrant teachers in 2010 (de Villiers & Weda, 2017:1). These teachers assisted when there was a shortfall of teachers in the country. Other industries have also benefitted from engineers that crossed the border when most companies shut their doors in Zimbabwe. In the face of increasing hostility towards immigrants, the government has failed to capitalise on these positive aspects of immigration by communicating its benefits to the nation. Government has also not optimally taken advantage of skilled immigrants plug the skills gap in areas where there are acute shortage, such as plumbing and boilermaking.

It is worth noting that immigration, when well managed, has had a positive impact in growing economics, with studies done in the UK showing that an influx of immigrants in the UK has not significantly harmed the employment prospects of UK-born workers (Wadsworth, Dhingra, Ottaviano & Van Reenen, 2016:5). A similar study in Canada showed that the benefits derived from immigration far outweigh the negatives to the economy and the labour market (Marr & Siklos, 1994:2). Canada and the UK have thriving labour markets with low unemployment rates. In addition, these countries also tend to attract immigrants that are more educated, with research showing that immigrants into the UK that come from the EU are more educated than the average UK citizen, resulting in less competition for jobs between low-skilled workers (Wadsworth *et al.*, 2016:4). The UK economy, unlike the South African one, is better able to absorb immigrants that come into the country. Data shows that the unemployment rate for both the UK-born and migrant workers is very low at 5,7% and 4,1% respectively (Fernades-Reino & Rienzo, 2019:7). The City of Tshwane could identify strategic sectors where

skilled immigrants could be recruited to fill a skill gap that exists in the country. This would help address the tensions that exist between immigrants and South Africans.

The authorities in the City of Tshwane have also not adopted a proactive approach by working with the Department of Labour to improve compliance with the country's labour laws. In addition, the city has failed to implement a programme to create awareness about labour laws, the plight of immigrants and human rights as enshrined in the country's constitution. This would assist in ensuring that employment of immigrants and foreigners is done in a manner that recognises all residents' inalienable right to earn a living, irrespective of their residential status.

4.3.4 Management of the spread of informal settlements

Challenges of international migration include integration of the migrants in countries of destination, health and psychological problems, isolation, separation from families and maladaptation due to environmental, cultural and climatic changes (StatsSA, 2011:126). With limited government involvement in the integration and settlement of immigrants, many of them rely on the generosity and goodwill of receiving communities, which are often hostile. In addition, due to fear of being "found out" many illegal immigrants choose to settle in unregulated informal settlements, where it is easier and cheaper for one to assimilate and start a new life.

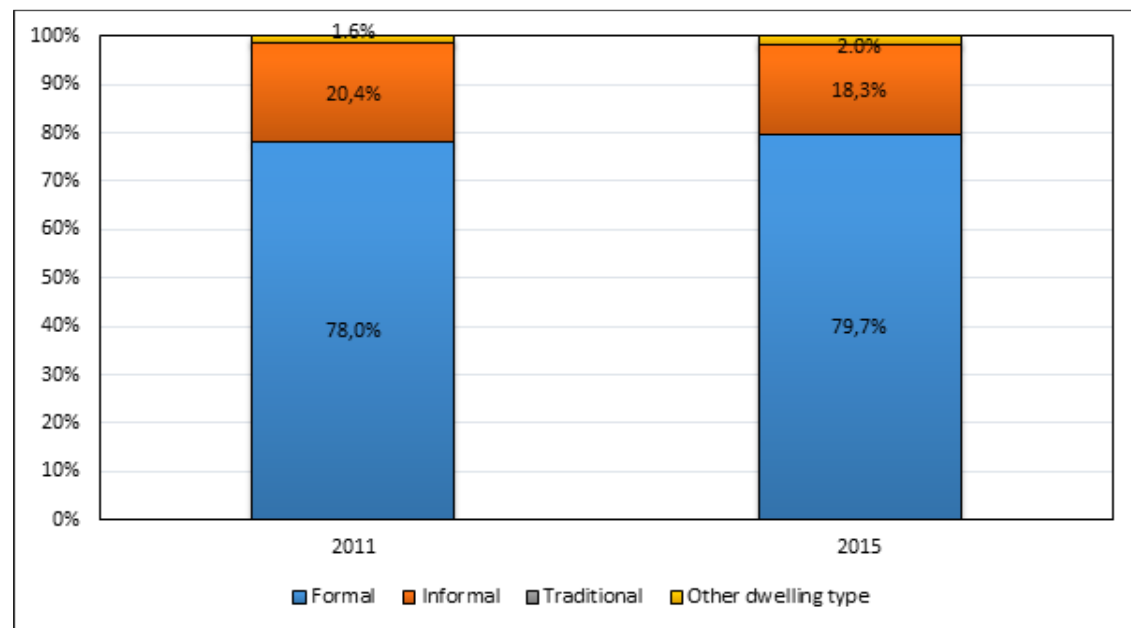
South African cities have been urbanising rapidly over the last two decades and the City of Tshwane is no exception. The fall of the apartheid government resulted in the relaxation of rules that restricted movement, sparking rapid urbanisation that is continuing unabated. Most of the country's cities are under pressure to provide decent housing to the most vulnerable of their residents. They have to ensure that this happens in a manner that is both orderly and is sensitive to the environmental impact of human settlement. In addition, this has to promote integration that seeks to reverse apartheid spatial development that separated communities along racial lines.

The City of Tshwane metropolitan area is a melting pot of different races, with diverse groups of people from all over the world. Managed properly, this diversity and cultural plurality should be something that all are proud of, but due to abdication of responsibility on the part of the authorities, it is a source of discontent. The future of the city depends on the integration of these diverse groups of people in a manner that

promotes harmony and tolerance. Lack of government involvement in the settlement of immigrants is counterproductive to this objective. Instead, immigrants have been left to their own devices as far as human settlement and integration into communities are concerned. This has resulted in an increase in the number of informal settlements in and around the city, which does not promote integration and social cohesion. According to Mkhabela (2017:7) lack of available inner-city residential space has resulted in peri-urban areas on the outskirts of Tshwane being turned into informal settlements, accommodating a multi-cultural population, living in sub-standard conditions. Poverty and poor service delivery by the authorities in these areas has resulted in South Africans blaming immigrants for their plight and resorting to xenophobic violence. This has made integration and harmonious coexistence impossible to achieve.

In addition, with more people struggling to find employment, they have resorted to engaging in business ventures that flout the city's bylaws and regulations. Many businesses that are being run from these areas are in contravention of the city's bylaws. Failure by the authorities to enforce compliance has resulted in informal trading in the city being associated with crime, dirt and congestion as they take up space on walkway (Masonganye, 2010). In addition informal settlements around the city having become a magnet for illegal immigrants and ideal hideouts for criminals who do not wish to be traced (Misago et al., 2010:17).

The 2011 census found that the City of Tshwane has 1 12 167 households which live in shacks that are not in the backyards, which equates to 12 percent of the city's households (Housing Development Agency, 2013:17). A 2015 study showed that approximately 18.3 percent of the households in Tshwane were occupying informal dwellings, representing a marginal improvement on 2011 when this stood at 20.4 percent (Tshwane, 2015). Figure 4.3 below indicates households in Tshwane by type of dwelling.

Figure 4. 2: Households in Tshwane by type of dwelling, 2011 vs 2015

Source: IHS Global Insight, Regional eXplorer 1029 (2.5w), 2015, Cited in Tshwane (2015)

Most of the informal settlements in the City of Tshwane, as in most cities in South Africa, are found in the peripheries of the city (Gottzman & Osman, 2010: 121). Life in these areas is very difficult. It is characterised by grime, crime and service delivery protests (Gottzman & Osman, 2010: 121). Delivery of municipal services such as garbage collection and sewer systems is very poor, leading to diseases. This has in turn put a huge strain on the struggling health care system. Overcrowding is also a huge problem in these areas. Many of them are very difficult to access, making it very difficult for policing and provision of municipal services. The haphazard nature of informal settlements make them inaccessible to emergency services, such as firefighters and ambulances, putting the lives of people at risk (Misago et al, 2010:73). In addition, illegal electricity connections are a massive problem in these areas. These often lead to power supply interruptions and sometimes deaths due to electrocution. Water loss due to leaks and illegal connections is also costing the city millions of rands. In recent times, the city has been plagued by blackouts due to illegal connections and damages to its electricity distribution network (Ngoepe, K. 2018).

The city's 2006 Integrated Development Plan revealed that the rate of growth in Tshwane is greater than the rate of housing delivery, resulting in the establishment of informal areas with little or no services and other amenities, which are generally located

on the periphery (Tshwane, 2006:19). Poor management of immigration has exacerbated the overcrowding problem in townships and informal settlements, with many informal settlements experiencing fires that have claimed the lives of people and destroyed their meagre belongings. Following a fire in Plastic View in the East of Pretoria in 2018, the city's mayor blamed the Department of Home Affairs for its failure to document illegal immigrants (The Citizen, 2018). This once again highlights the lack of policy coherence between the different spheres of government in the country.

Many informal areas around the city have experienced an increase in crime and drug abuse, resulting in lawlessness. A research by South African Cities Network (2014:5) found evidence that shows that in many of the country's cities, migration and mobility have resulted in socioeconomic and political instability, which manifests itself in various forms such as xenophobic violence, livelihood insecurity and ethnic tensions, amongst others. These issues have bred a culture of lawlessness in the informal settlements, with police acknowledging that they are more difficult to police than formal areas (Socioeconomic Rights Institute of South Africa, 2018:12). This culture also manifests itself in the attacks on emergency services.

Uncontrolled immigration has also resulted in a rise in demand for residential land, sparking illegal invasion and occupation of municipal land. Many people have become accustomed to scenes of forced removal of illegal land occupants that have become a common scene on television as municipalities battle to take control of the situation. The City of Tshwane has not been spared these challenges. Illegal occupation of land around the city means that the city has to divert much needed resources to the removal of the illegal occupants.

The proliferation of informal settlements in the city is something that can be managed through the city's bylaws. The City of Tshwane has however failed to ensure compliance with its bylaws. The attitude of the city's senior officials is that the city is powerless because immigration is a national competence. These attitudes are not helpful. Whilst the study by Misago et al. (2010:12) also found that most city officials associate foreign migration into the city with illegality, criminality and social tensions caused by competition for scarce resources, jobs and business opportunities, there is no plan to deal with these, manage or at least minimize these consequences.

4.3.5 Measures to address crime and security concerns

The City of Tshwane, as the country's administrative capital, attracts many illegal immigrants and refugees who seek to regularize their stay through the acquisition of permits and temporary residence papers. The city has witnessed conflicts between angry citizens and immigrants, an act which poses a serious threat to the stability of the capital. Whilst these conflicts have been defused, there is no doubt that tensions persist.

Poor response to illegal immigration by the authorities poses a serious safety and security risk to a country. In an era where every country is at risk of a terrorist attack, it is crucial that the country implements measures to ensure that all people within its borders are documented. This should extend to both immigrants and citizens. It is a legal requirement in all countries that all people, immigrants and citizens should have legal documentation. Hence, illegal immigration is regarded as a crime (Campbell, 2006).

Management of immigration is a responsibility of all spheres of government. However, cities should be at the forefront of efforts to minimise the negative impacts of immigration. South Africa's porous borders pose a huge security risk to the country, as there is no control on who comes in and out of the country. According to Dr Johan Burger at the Institute of Security Studies, South Africa is a land of opportunity for foreign criminals (Defence Web, 2011). In addition, the South African Police Services arrested approximately 700 people in connection with stolen vehicles, illegal firearms and drugs along the border (Defence Web, 2011). Helmoed-Römer Heitman, South African correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly, says that smuggling weapons, people and narcotics is also a problem. "We know we have illegal immigrants; we know we have stolen cars crossing the border; we know we have illegal abalone," he says. "I don't think we have a clue how much goes on. No-one ever looks." (Defence Web, 2011). Increased globalization means that movement of illicit cash flows and movement of money intended for terrorist organisations have become easier across countries. These practices have become harder to control as technology becomes more sophisticated and harder to keep track of.

The xenophobic attacks on immigrants and the looting of their businesses poses a serious risk to the country's security in the long run. A perception that a section of the country's population is not being protected by the government creates a perception of

persecution and the hardening of attitudes. This, in turn, can invite terrorist attacks on the country of origin of the immigrants, as people seek to avenge the attacks on their fellow countrymen who they feel are being persecuted. The attacks and wanton looting of shops belonging to immigrants is breeding a culture of impunity and making all residents of the city feel unsafe. These attacks are not just targeted at property, but have also resulted in deaths, as shown in Table 4.2 below.

The table below shows xenophobic incidents across South Africa between January 2015 and January 2017. Whilst these numbers are not specific to Tshwane, they are as much relevant given the extent of the city has had the flare ups of conflicts between South Africans and immigrants.

Table 4. 2: Xenophobic incidents across South Africa between January 2015 and January 2017

Type of Incident	Number of Reports
Deaths	66
Assaults	116
Looted	571
People Displaced	11,140

Source: Hiropoulos (2017)

The figures in Table 4.2 above point to a level of criminality that has evolved from resentment and scapegoating of foreigners . It is also important to note that whilst in many instances foreigners are the main casualties in these attacks, many South Africans have also been victims.

There has also been a lot of stereotyping and unfair profiling which is not backed up by any reliable data, due to the ineptitude of the authorities when it comes to crime prevention. These attitudes have fuelled xenophobic violence in the city's townships. The persistent outbreak of violence in the City of Tshwane poses serious security concerns for immigrants (Khumalo & Obioha, 2017: 154).

Violence against immigrants and the apparent inability of the authorities to deal with it effectively is a reflection of a systemic problem within the law enforcement agencies. A common view is that the Tshwane Metropolitan Police officials are not properly trained to respond effectively to violence against immigrants (Khumalo & Obioha,

2017: 167). The first duty of a state to its citizens is safety and security. This is a right that extends to all residents, and the City of Tshwane has failed in this regard, as evidenced by the continued violence against immigrants.

4.3.6 Measures to address tensions in the informal business sector

One of the most positive aspects of the post-apartheid dispensation is the host of entrepreneurs it attracted, particularly from African and Asian countries. Most of these immigrants have started businesses in the townships. Studies have shown that migrant entrepreneurs and their non-migrant counterparts are integrally linked to the informal economy and contribute to it significantly (Crush, Chikanda & Skinner, 2015). This contribution is however clouded by the negative aspects, which result from the City of Tshwane's failure to foster cooperation between immigrant and local business people. Whilst these immigrants are making an important contribution to the country's economy through their taxes and employment creation, it is important to ensure that the township economy is seen as inclusive by all. The authorities have to address the concerns of South African traders who feel that migrant-owned shops are undermining their livelihoods (Gastrow, 2018:3).

For many years, the informal tuck-shops were the backbone of the township economy. Not only did these businesses supply goods and services to the township residents, they were also an integral part of the fabric of the society. Township business people were an influential group who commanded respect and as such provided critical leadership to the community. As immigration gathered pace after the country's first democratic elections, there has been a noticeable shift in ownership of the tuck-shops in the townships from South Africans to immigrants from Africa and Asia (Charman, Petersen & Piper, 2012: 49). It is estimated that approximately 70% of the roughly 100 000 tuck-shops in the townships are now owned by foreigners (Politicsweb, 2017).

The shift in ownership of tuckshops in the townships has bred a lot of resentment as South Africans feel excluded from their own economy. It is important to mention that whilst South African shop owners resent the presence of their immigrant counterparts, most consumers appreciate their better prices and improved service (Charman, Petersen & Piper, 2012: 49). These are some of the factors that have endeared immigrant business owners to township consumers, to the chagrin of their South African

competitors. In addition, the rent paid by immigrant businesses has benefitted many township residents who rent out their premises (Gastrow, 2018:12). Measures to address tensions between immigrant and South Africans business owners should take into account the important contribution of all parties to the country's economy.

Failure by the authorities to ensure that the informal business sector is seen as accommodative by both foreigners and South African, is counterproductive to government's efforts of growing the sector to pull people out of poverty. As the informal sector becomes increasingly important to the economy, it is important that the country's citizens do not feel marginalised and excluded from the economic activity. "South Africa's lax migration policy and poor regulation, among others, affects the poorest of its citizens. By reclaiming small business, poor communities could play a decisive role in curtailing the malice of crime and dependence on the state" (Makgetla, 2018).

The city could have addressed this anomalous situation through the implementation of empowerment and support programmes that would create a conducive atmosphere of mutual cooperation, where both foreign and South African business people can thrive. It could also introduce laws to regulate informal township businesses. This would include the issuing of business licenses that would ensure a more equitable ownership of the informal business sector in the townships. The City of Tshwane has strict by-laws that regulate zoning designating of areas for residential purposes. It has, however, failed to enforce compliance with its own laws. There is a prevalent culture that creates an impression that by-laws are not applicable to townships. This has made it difficult for the local government authorities to regulate the informal business sector in the townships.

The perception that South Africans have been displaced from the township economy has resulted in heightened tensions between South Africans and immigrant shop owners. There is also envy and distrust between South African and immigrant business people. There have been numerous claims that South African business people, envious of the success of the immigrants, have been instigating the xenophobic violence in the townships. Whilst these acts of criminality have to be condemned, the local authorities have failed to address the fears of South African business people, who feel that they are being pushed out of business.

Whilst immigration is an unavoidable reality of the modern world that is becoming more globalized, failure by the authorities to protect those who reside within its borders is a demonstration of how it has failed to strike a balance between welcoming and accommodating people who seek to settle in the country and addressing the fears of the country's citizens. The attitude of the authorities in this regard is an abdication of responsibility in that it is resulting in a lack of security for the vulnerable in the society, both the citizens and the immigrants. Local authorities have a constitutional obligation to ensure the safety of all the city's residents, irrespective of their residential status. It is for this reason that the government has been hauled before the SADC to account for its complicity in the xenophobic violence as a result of its inaction. It would not be far-fetched to imagine that the government could well be hauled before the United Nations for its failure to protect those who seek refuge in the country.

Violence directed at foreign owned businesses in the townships has made it difficult for these business people to become part of the communities in which they operate. This has made it hard for them to play any meaningful role in societies in which they find themselves, apart from selling their goods to the community. This situation has an impact on the social fabric of the township communities as historically local shopkeepers were also regarded as community leaders that played a pivotal role such as provision of financial assistance to the destitute and indigents. The current situation has therefore resulted in a lack of social cohesion that manifests in increased crime rates and other social ills.

With the stuttering economy struggling to create jobs for the hordes of school leavers and graduates, immigrants have become easy scapegoats as people struggle to put food on the table. A more deliberate government intervention could facilitate the transfer and sharing of skills between the country's citizens and the immigrant business community. When local residents begin to see immigrants as one of their own, they are more likely to protect them from attacks and victimization. This in turn would help to integrate immigrants into the community, thus improving social cohesion.

In an era where the country is experiencing high unemployment levels, the onus is on the city's authorities to ensure that they manage the entrance of immigrants into the informal sector in a manner that addresses the fears of South African business people, however unfounded. Most countries have designated business sectors and areas that are

preserved for the country's citizens. These measures are designed to ensure that immigrants do not displace local business people, whilst at the same time not discouraging investment or excluding immigrants from economic activity.

Effective regulation of the informal business sector by the city's authorities would help manage the tensions between South Africans and immigrants. Whilst many immigrants have created employment opportunities for South Africans, these benefits are not obvious to most South Africans, as they are being overshadowed by prevailing misperception about immigration. A more deliberate approach by the city's authorities could involve campaigns to create awareness about the positive contributions that immigrants make to the country. The failure by the authorities in this regard has created a vacuum, resulting in perpetuation of xenophobia, spreading of misinformation and hatred towards the immigrant business community in the country. This has harmed the efforts of creating harmony between South Africans and the immigrant community in the country, particularly the townships.

It is important to mention that the immigrant business communities in the townships are as much victims of an administration that has failed to ensure that township businesses are operated within the existing legal frameworks in which zoning rights are acquired and bylaws are enforced.

It is also true that some of the resentment towards immigrant business community in the townships is based on xenophobia, jealousy and misperceptions about immigrants. The local government authorities have never shown any interest in addressing these issues, however unfounded the aforementioned may be. A programme to educate South Africans about the contribution of the immigrant business community to the economy would go a long way towards dispelling the prevalent misconceptions. In addition, the authorities have failed to implement programmes to empower South African business people to better compete against the new entrants into the township economy. Whilst some have sought to trivialize these issues, they cannot be dismissed due to the levels of poverty in the city's townships.

4.3.7 Measures to address challenges of integration and social cohesion

According to OECD (2011:9) beyond the impact of emigration on development, a number of countries in the South are also facing the challenges of immigration, particularly in terms of integration and social cohesion. The City of Tshwane has been of the cities that has had numerous attacks on immigrants and the looting of their businesses. These outbreaks of violence betray lack of discernible plan on the part of the authorities to facilitate the smooth integration of immigrants into the communities that they settle in.

The country took a noble decision not to confine refugees in camps, but instead sought to integrate them into local communities. However, this decision requires implementation of strategies that seek to ensure that this process does not create tensions and conflict between foreigners and the country's citizens. A study by the OECD (2011:12) found that lack of policies to manage integration of immigrants generates costs for societies. In addition, whilst integration is not at the centre of concerns, the costs of neglecting it are very high (OECD, 2011:13). The study further found that many developing countries do not consider integration a priority, until problems become insurmountable and the political situation ruptures. This is very true in the case of the City of Tshwane, whose stability has already been threatened on a number of occasions with outbursts of xenophobic attacks on immigrants. Misago et al. (2010:19) found that despite having experienced a high number of violent incidents, the city does not have any long-term, sustained interventions or initiatives to work towards integration and social cohesion and prevent any future incidents.

One of the objectives stated in the White Paper on Immigration is integration (OECD/ILO, 2018:34). The paper further states that this should be done through the adoption of a coherent, whole-of-government approach. Integration and social cohesion challenges, as evidenced by violence against immigrants, attests to the failure of the city to implement programmes that give effect to this objective.

The City of Tshwane has failed to implement a strategy that seeks to entrench a culture of tolerance and mutual respect. Lack of plans to guide integration means that many poor communities have been left to their own devices, resulting in heightened tensions and conflicts in the townships and informal settlements. In addition, this has led to lack

of understanding of one another's cultures, resulting in stereotyping of immigrants by South Africans.

According to OECD (2011:17), the 2008 financial crisis, which negatively impacted the economy, has made local populations more hostile to immigration. The local population perceived these immigrants as a threat to jobs and social cohesion. The views of many South African citizens are informed by anecdotes, misinformation and conjectures, resulting in a form of discrimination or "othering". The use of derogatory terms to refer to immigrants has perpetuated stereotypes and xenophobia in communities.

Xenophobic violence is counterproductive to South Africa's developmental agenda and its values of Ubuntu (humanity) (Mabera, 2015). Whilst the post-apartheid government unequivocally reasserted its inalienable identity as an African country and its commitment to its developmental agenda, it never had a well-thought out programme on how it was going to ensure smooth integration of immigrants into local communities. Many immigrants from the continent have also been complaining about lack of acknowledgement by South African citizens of the role of the continent in the country's struggle against apartheid. This could have been addressed through a programme designed to educate local communities on the different African cultures and the contribution of immigrants to the local economy.

Major cities in countries such as New Zealand, Canada and Australia have very stringent requirements on immigration that are designed to ensure peaceful coexistence between immigrants and citizens. These include language proficiency, possession of skill and level of employability. This is in line with their application of a "human capital accumulation formula" (Bassarsky, Kamiya, Ferre, Gaigbe-Togbe & Mishra, 2013:36). These requirements are used to assess the chances of an immigrant to integrate and be a member of a local community. There is evidence that the City of Tshwane does not have plans or strategy that would lead to similar programmes. This has led to the mushrooming of isolated expat communities in the city that are never seen as South Africans even after years of living in the country, thus making integration almost impossible. This isolation has led to victimization of immigrants by South African citizens, as they never see them as part of their own communities. Whilst there are areas

where there is evidence of integration, most areas in the City of Tshwane still reflect deep divisions between immigrants and South Africans.

Whilst the responsibility of policing falls with the South African Police Services, attacks of immigrant businesses betray a failure of the City of Tshwane's monitoring and early warning systems. In addition, the City has not built a relationship with affected communities, which would serve as a valuable platform for communication of their concerns and fears. Continued criminality directed at foreign immigrants is harming efforts to forge social cohesion in the city, and the authorities could do more to ensure that perpetrators are dealt with through the criminal justice system.

4.4 Summary and Deductions

In conclusion, it is quite clear that the City of Tshwane has failed to manage the impacts of immigration, with dire consequences. Whilst no one is advocating for a policy that seeks to keep immigrants out of the country, the current approach that has left the city officials feeling helpless and disempowered is counterproductive to efforts to build a world-class city that is progressive and embraces diversity.

It is also clear that authorities lack appreciation for the impact immigration is having on the city and its developmental potential. The fact that the City of Tshwane does not have a unit that maintains statistical information on immigration is further evidence of its lack of competence to manage the impacts that flow from increased immigration. The city is lagging behind many developing cities in this regard. The views of the city officials reflect both ignorance and lack of understanding of the role of the city's responsibilities when it comes to management of the impacts of immigration. Whilst it is true that formulation of policies relating to immigration is the purview of national government, implementation thereof should be done in conjunction with provincial and local government authorities. In addition, the city has an inalienable responsibility to manage the consequences of immigration that have a direct impact on its residents.

Management of the impacts of immigration in the City of Tshwane should start by understanding the number and demographics of immigrants in the city. Failure by the authorities to set up a dedicated unit in this regard casts doubt on the city's plans for the future. Immigration will continue to be a factor for all major cities around the world

and cannot be wished away. The City of Tshwane should follow the example of other cities that have woken up to this realisation and put plans in place to not only address the negative effects of immigration, but to find ways of ensuring that its benefits are optimised.

Whilst the City of Tshwane does not have laws or policies that were formulated primarily to deal with immigration, its existing bylaws are sufficient to tackle some of the issues that arise as a result of increased immigration. These laws, which the city has failed to enforce, include requirements to acquire business-zoning rights before operation of a business in a residential area and application for compliance certificates types of businesses such as selling of food to the public. These are some of the interventions that the city could implement without seeking concurrence from national or provincial government. The fact that immigrants are flouting these laws is a reflection of the weaknesses within the city's administration.

It is furthermore clear that as city's finances deteriorate due to revenue challenges, it will impact on its ability to continue delivering essential services, heightening tensions between immigrants and citizens. Service delivery challenges will be felt more in poor informal settlements resulting in more violent protests and xenophobic violence. The situation will be exacerbated by increasing unemployment. This will further lead to more complaints by South Africans that many companies are employing more immigrants than local citizens.

As urbanisation gathers pace, the City of Tshwane will experience more challenges on many levels as the demand for municipal services increase. The municipal infrastructure that was designed for a specific number of people will struggle to cope with strained fiscus making it difficult for the expansion of programmes such as the provision of water and sanitation to take place. Increased immigration will add to these challenges.

The city's authorities have to accept that immigration is here to stay and will become more of a factor in the future. However, the effects of increased immigration do not have to result in anarchy in the city and attacks on foreigners. The current ostrich approach that has characterised the city's response on immigration is not helping either immigrants or citizens. It is nothing short of dereliction of duty.

Briefly, the following could be deduced from the preceding sections of the study:

- The City of Tshwane has been affected by increased immigration and will continue to be, for a foreseeable future.
- The city has failed to manage the resultant impacts of immigration within its jurisdiction.
- Notwithstanding the fact that formulation of immigration policy is the purview of national government, the city is not powerless in managing the impacts associated with immigration.
- The current legislative dispensation on the management of immigration is problematic and makes it difficult to hold cities accountable for failure to manage impacts of immigration.
- Failure by the city to ensure availability of accurate and timely data will make it almost impossible for it to develop appropriate and effective measures to manage the effects of increased immigration.
- The city's current approach to the impacts of immigration is not effective and will continue to have a negative impact on the city.

It is clear that the City of Tshwane needs to do more to improve its responsiveness to the effects of immigration, as demonstrated by its little knowledge of the demographics, needs, costs and contributions of the city's migrant population (Misago et al, 2010:11). In a world that is increasingly becoming more interlinked, and where borders are becoming irrelevant, there is a need for a more effective and sustainable strategy that seeks to ensure that even as we embrace globalisation, the impacts of immigration are managed and their negative effects minimised.

Chapter 5 – Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

In conclusion, it is important to mention that immigration is an integral part of humanity. Cities that have embraced it have been able to manage it in such a manner that it contributes to their economic development and growth. Whilst there is evidence of rising nationalism and populism that is encouraging resistance to globalisation and immigration, research shows that it is neither desirable nor practical to try and keep migrants out.

It is quite clear that whilst the City of Tshwane lacks the resolve and the strategy to actively manage the socioeconomic impacts of immigration, there is no escaping the reality that the number of immigrants in the city will continue to rise. Lack of a coherent response to this will continue to present problems that could have been avoided. In addition, whilst the city has been affected in many different ways by immigration, the areas that have been impacted the most are municipal service delivery, employment, the informal business sector, informal settlements, crime, integration and social cohesion.

Whilst there is anecdotal evidence that South African cities receive more immigrants than most cities around the world, their failure to collect and maintain credible and reliable data betrays their lack of seriousness in responding to the resultant consequences. This abdication of responsibility has led to a failure to foster integration and social cohesion and realise the demographic dividend brought about by immigration. The objective of this chapter is to highlight some of the conclusions that can be drawn from this study and put forward some recommendations for improvement to address each of the identified impacts for the City of Tshwane.

5.2 Municipal Service Delivery

Many South African cities are already experiencing service delivery challenges as they battle to cope with increasing demand amidst the culture of non-payment. The population increase in the City of Tshwane has impacted its ability to deliver services to its citizens. The high unemployment rate in the city means that more and more people

cannot afford to pay for the municipal services, putting strain on the city's finances and resources. The city is already providing a range of free services to residents who are unemployed. These include provision of a certain amount of free water to residents. The city also has a long list of indigent residents who are not required to pay for basic services due to their financial situation. These are pensioners and the unemployed. An increase in the city's population will continue to exacerbate the problem. It is however clear that the city does not have a clear strategy to address the problem in a more sustainable manner.

Lack of data on immigration demographics makes it difficult for the authorities to quantify the exact impact of immigration on its finances and resources. There is, however, plenty of best practices from other cities that are facing similar challenges. It could conduct benchmarking exercises with some of these cities with a view to replicating some of the approaches that have been successfully implemented. Measures to alleviate the impact of migration on the city's service delivery should include the following:

- Establishment of an immigration unit that will work with the Department of Home Affairs. The first task of this unit will be to collect data on the immigration demographics in the city.
- Assessment of the needs of immigrants to better understand how these could be met. These will also assist the city to understand the impact of immigration on service delivery.
- The city could also introduce minimum standard rates for certain services for poor residents. Many residents have been advocating for-called "flat" rates for services such as electricity and water, but the authorities have rejected this proposal without exploring the potential benefits. The advantage of this approach is that more people would be able to afford to pay, albeit a lower rate.
- The city should improve its revenue collection measures to counter the negative effects that increased immigration is having on its funds.
- Many cities in South Africa have installed prepaid metres for services such as water and electricity. The city should install prepaid devices in all households to improve its revenue collection.

5.3 Employment

South Africa has a chronic problem of unemployment, with the majority of the country's young people constituting the majority of the people that are unemployed. Whilst the country has benefited immensely from the skills of immigrants, failure by the authorities to manage the impact of immigration on the employment prospects of South Africans is threatening the country's prospects of continuing to lure skilled immigrants. With studies showing that many unscrupulous employers are taking advantage of undocumented immigrants who are willing to accept very low wages out of desperation. The writing of Bohlman (2012) tackles some of the issues that many people have deemed too controversial to handle, such as preference of foreign workers by employers at the expense of South African workers. He proposes a number of solutions and employs some modelling systems to reduce the supply of labour that has led to a reduction in wages, exploitation and thus a tendency to overlook South Africans in favour of foreign workers.

The City of Tshwane, which has a high unemployment rate, should implement the following measures to address the impact of increased immigration on employment in the city:

- Work closely with the Department of Home Affairs and Department of Labour to enforce compliance with the country's labour laws that regulate the employment of immigrants.
- In conjunction with the Department of Labour, establish an employment information centre for immigrants. This should be augmented by a creation of a skills database for immigrants. This will help channel immigrants to areas that are experiencing skill shortages, thus reducing competition with low-skilled South Africans.
- Work with business communities in the area to get an understanding of the concerns that lead them to employ foreign workers at the expense of locals.
- In a study done in 2012, using policy simulation models, Bohlmann (2012:16) found that reducing the supply of cheap foreign labour would lead to a reduction in unemployment for South Africans. He further found that the legal requirement of a minimum wage also plays a significant role in employers

resorting to hiring illegal immigrants who come at a cheaper rate than South Africans. The City of Tshwane should work together with the departments of Labour and Home Affairs to explore ways of curbing the exploitation of immigrants by employers.

5.4 Informal Settlements

The mushrooming of informal settlements in and around the City of Tshwane are hampering efforts aimed at achieving integration and social cohesion. It is difficult to understand how the city can plan properly without having a unit or a department that keeps data on the immigration demographics.

Continued poor management of the settlement of immigrants in the country is resulting in several social challenges in the country. These include:

- Lack of integration and social cohesion
- Xenophobic violence as people see immigrants as a threat to their livelihood.
- Lawlessness and ungovernability

Efforts to stop the mushrooming of informal settlements should include partnerships with both the Department of Home Affairs and the Department of Human Settlements, to create a survey that will provide the city with the current and future housing needs of immigrants in the city. This would help the city with its funding needs and how immigration would impact its ability to provide housing for its citizens. Furthermore, literature is replete with best practice from major cities around the world and the City of Tshwane should make an effort to learn from these cities on how best to provide immigrants with accommodation. The city could try to replicate some of the more successful programmes implemented in cities such as Toronto in Canada and London in the UK, which have a high percentage of immigrants.

5.5 Crime and Security

The failure of the City of Tshwane to collect data on migrants is not helping the fight against crime. Whilst the function of documenting migrants is the mandate of the national government, the city still has a responsibility to collate data on its residents,

regardless of their residential status. Not only is this useful for planning purpose, but it also helps in the fight against crime as it becomes easier to track the perpetrators when authorities have data on the inhabitants.

Studies have shown that there is a strong correlation between crime and unemployment. With the city already having high levels of unemployment, increasing numbers of unemployed immigrants is only exacerbating the situation. The city could implement a number of measures that could help reduce the involvement of immigrants in criminal activities. Some of the measures that the city could implement include the following:

- Programmes that create partnerships with immigrant communities to combat crime.
- Provision of proper documents to immigrants who do not have them.
- The city should work with embassies to find ways to reduce the involvement of immigrants in criminal activities.
- Establishment of programmes that engage the youth in immigrant communities.
- Establishment of community development programmes in communities to start their own businesses and self-help projects.
- Involve immigrants in community policing forums to combat attacks on immigrants.

5.6 Informal Business Sector

The entrance of immigrants into the informal business sector is one of the most emotive issues associated with immigration. The prevalent perception is that immigrants are displacing South Africans from the informal business sector. This is also one of the main factors contributing to animosity and xenophobic violence in the city's townships. It is one issue that, if not given urgent attention, could destabilise the city and scare potential foreign investors away. It is an undeniable fact that the situation where the city's residents feel excluded from the economic activity is not sustainable. It is also important to mention upfront that enterprising immigrants cannot be blamed for this state of affairs. The blame should be put squarely at the door of the city's authorities who have failed to enforce the bylaws, as most of the townships' businesses are

operating from residential homes that do not have business rights. It is quite evident that the authorities have failed to enforce the bylaws, resulting in proliferation of businesses in areas where there are no business zoning rights. Poor regulation has also resulted in crowding out of formal businesses and the selling of counterfeit goods.

The complaints by South African business people that they are being pushed out of business by immigrants should not be dismissed as this creates feelings of resentment and helplessness. In the same breath, the city's authorities should ensure that immigrants that are operating businesses in the townships are protected from criminal activities. Any measures that are implemented should be geared towards creating a spirit of cooperation between South African business people and immigrant business community. The city should implement the following measures to address the problem:

- Strengthen the city's monitoring capacity to detect non-compliance with the city bylaws that regulate trade.
- Explore ways of creating partnerships between South African and immigrant traders to drive inclusivity in the informal business sector.
- Facilitate the creation of associations that bring local and immigrant business communities together in order to build partnerships and cooperation.
- Create a programme to assist local business people to improve their business skills in order to improve their competitiveness.
- In conjunction with the other stakeholders in the country's security cluster, the city must ensure that the rule of law prevails and that both South African and immigrant businesses are protected.
- Maintain a database of all informal businesses that operate in the townships.

5.7 Integration and Social Cohesion

The City of Tshwane's efforts to attain integration and integration and social cohesion are being frustrated by numerous factors. These factors include, amongst others, perpetuation of settlement patterns that continue to isolate migrants instead of integrating them in local communities. This is primarily because of lack of involvement by the authorities in the settlement of immigrants. In what can only be described as

dereliction of duty, the local government authorities have demonstrated lack of interest in assisting immigrants to settle in the city, thereby failing to drive efforts aimed at achieving integration and social cohesion. In addition, the lack of any sustainable plan to educate the locals about the plight of immigrants and the crucial role they play in the development and economic growth of the city has allowed the perpetuation of misconceptions, which are frustrating efforts to attain social cohesion. Everatt (2011) argues that South Africa will remain beset by unresolved challenges that have their roots in the past, unless they undergo economic and social transformation. Local government authorities have to be at the forefront of this transformation agenda and have to be very purposeful about it. The following are some of the measures that the City of Tshwane should implement to achieve social cohesion in the city:

- Implement a programme that will educate South Africans about immigration and the plight of immigrants, and their contribution to the development of the country.
- Introduce annual games and carnivals that are meant to foster understanding and appreciation of diversity. These could involve street parades of different heritages and cultures that exist within the city.
- Facilitate the establishment of committees that involve locals and immigrants to identify xenophobic hotspots. This initiative could serve as an early warning for the authorities, thereby allowing them time to act decisively.

Chapter 6 – Summary

Immigration has become a dominant topic of discussion around the world. Whilst migration has been an inherent characteristic of humanity for generations, it has become more important as a policy area in recent years due to the rise of nationalism and a pushback against globalisation around the world. The history of humankind shows that immigration is here to stay and cities have to put in place measures to manage it instead of implementing policies that are meant to keep people out, which have been shown to be futile.

Immigration is of particular importance to South Africa because of the country's history and its deep socioeconomic challenges. The country's challenges of poverty and inequality, coupled with the history of isolation, have created a lot resistance to immigration. This resistance has unfortunately often found expression in violence directed at immigrants, particularly in poor informal settlements. Government's failure to develop concrete, long term plans to address the effects of immigration has resulted in these acts of criminality continuing unabated. Its review of legislative frameworks on immigration is often seen as an academic exercise that has no real tangible impact on the ground. Many of the people in the country's informal settlements, which house thousands of immigrants, do not have the level of education to understand the complex legal measures that government is putting in place to manage immigration. Neither do they understand the inevitability of globalisation and immigration nor the well-documented benefits that flow from immigration. The blame in this regard can be put squarely at the feet of a government that has failed to implement long-term measures to address the impacts of immigration. The situation is further compounded by an anomalous governance arrangement, which gives the national government the mandate of managing immigration, leaving local government authorities feeling disempowered. Whilst the real challenges, which are a result of government failures, are not adequately addressed, the scourge of violence directed at immigrants will continue to be a blot on the nation's collective conscience.

Whilst many parts of the country have seen an increase in the number of immigrants, the country's major cities are where majority of immigrants settle. Failure by the local government authorities to address the socioeconomic impacts that result from increased

immigration has created tensions between the cities' residents and immigrants. The City of Tshwane is one of the cities that has taken in more immigrants, resulting in negative socioeconomic effects. Amongst the areas that have been affected are municipal service delivery, employment, lack of integration and social cohesion, as reflected in xenophobic attacks, increase in informal settlements, crime and security, tensions between South African and immigrant traders in the informal business sector.

Measures that are meant to manage the impacts of immigration must be informed by the reasons that motivate or force people to migrate. Amongst these are push-pull factors such as a search for better economic opportunities and people fleeing from economic hardships. The persistent resistance to immigration and prevalence of violence that accompanies it, however, show that the City of Tshwane has failed to address the effects of growing immigration in the city. This is further backed up by findings that show that the city does not even have data on the demographics of immigrants in the city. The violence against immigrants is threatening the stability of the city and thwarting any efforts to attain social cohesion in the city. This in turn will scare away the potential investors in the city. There is consensus in the country that service delivery failures by the authorities and persisting economic challenges are also some of the factors that have led to xenophobic attacks on immigrants, as poor citizens, particularly in poor informal settlements look for scapegoats for their hardships. The authorities in the City of Tshwane have failed to develop a programme that would help to eradicate this and other misconceptions about immigrants.

Many of the issues that give rise to the growing discontent and resistance against immigration betray ignorance on the part of the authorities about the positive and negative aspects of immigration. This ignorance is reflected in many areas such as failure to maintain data on the demographics of immigrants in the city. Consequently, the city is unable to take advantage of the benefits of immigration whilst minimising the negative impacts thereof.

Amongst the measures that the city should implement to manage the impacts of immigration are the creation of skills database of the city's immigrants, a survey of the housing needs of immigrants in the city, the creation of associations that bring local and immigrant business communities together in order to build partnerships and

cooperation. In addition, the authorities must educate South Africans about immigration and the plight of immigrants, and their contribution to the development of the country. In conclusion, immigration is here to stay, and the City of Tshwane needs to wake up to this inevitability and implement measures that will ensure the achievement of integration and social cohesion amongst its residents. The city needs to manage the effects of immigration in a manner that makes its native-born citizens not to see it as a burden but a demographic boon. Many cities around the world have managed to turn immigration into a demographic dividend that drives their economic development. The City of Tshwane should find ways of how to replicate best practices from major cities around the world and optimise the benefits of immigration.

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